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A SKETCH OF THE PEYOTE CULT OF THE WINNEBAGO:¹ A STUDY IN BORROWING

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The phenomenon of borrowing meets us at every phase of ethnological research; and although in no case has any attempt ever been made to study its mechanism, we know, in a large number of modern instances, both the approximate time of borrowing and the participating tribes. In view of its far-reaching importance for an understanding of the development of specific cultures and culture-areas, any light obtained from the study of borrowings occurring under our own eyes ought to be gladly welcomed. Within the last hundred years enough direct borrowing has taken place to illustrate, if carefully studied, most of the methods by which elements of culture can be diffused from tribe to tribe; and enough time has elapsed, in many cases, to show in what manner specific cultures reacted upon these newly introduced elements.

We have in the Ghost Dance, the Handsome Lake doctrine, the teachings of the Shawnee Prophet, etc., a vast amount of material, which, when critically worked out, will certainly yield a rich harvest of suggestions. In the changes these doctrines underwent as they spread from tribe to tribe, and in the various new features they introduced in their wake as they were disseminated from each center of dispersion, we will certainly find many characteristics of a normal type of diffusion. On the whole, however, it appears to me that the diffusion in these

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cases represented a highly specialized type. Is it indeed necessary to have a stimulus for borrowing as powerful as the teachings of these prophets? For the large majority of cases, borrowing surely represented merely a normal reaction to a normal cultural contact. I am, of course, well aware of the fact that the crux of the problem really lies in the nature of this normal reaction, and that any reaction between cultures will ultimately depend on more than the mere proximity of one culture to another.

It does not seem likely that in pre-Columbian times borrowing in connection with religious and ceremonial life was ever stimulated by the spread of new doctrines such as those of the nineteenth century. Any attempt to study the nature of the mechanism of borrowing under normal conditions ought, therefore, to be based on an example of diffusion connected with the friendly intercourse of one tribe with another. To make the conditions even more definite, it might be best to select for study, cultural elements disseminated as a result of visits paid by individuals for purely social purposes, or in a spirit of adventure.

The peyote cult, now spreading so rapidly over the western part of the United States, presents us with the opportunity for making a particularly intensive study of what represents, on the whole, a fairly normal type of borrowing. For that reason I took the opportunity, while studying the Winnebago of Nebraska, to collect data relating to the introduction and development of this cult among them. It had only begun to make headway a few years before I first visited the tribe, in 1908, and I was thus permitted to follow its formative stages. For the important years preceding 1908, which, I understand, were taken up with attempts to obtain proselytes, I have comparatively little data, but sufficient, on the whole, for a general bridging over of these preparatory years.

DESCRIPTION OF THE CEREMONY AND ITS ORGANIZATION

The ceremony is generally held in a building, called by the peyote worshipers a church, although frequently it likewise takes place in the open. In the beginning of its organization as many meetings as possible were held. At the present time,

however, there seems to be a tendency to restrict the number, and to have them generally take place on Saturday evening.

The ceremony is opened by a prayer of the founder and leader, this being followed by an introductory speech. Thereupon, the leader sings a peyote song, to the accompaniment of a drum. He then delivers another speech, and, when he is finished, passes the drum and other regalia to the man to his right. This man, in turn, delivers a speech, and signs a song, and when he is finished, passes the regalia to the third man, who subsequently passes the same to the fourth. The fourth man returns the regalia to the leader. In this way the regalia pass from one to the other throughout the night. It not infrequently happens that one of these four gets tired, and gives up his place temporarily to some other member of the cult. At intervals they stop to eat or drink peyote. At about twelve the peyote begins to affect some people. These generally rise and deliver self-accusatory speeches, and make more or less formal confessions, after which they go around shaking hands with everyone, asking for forgiveness.

The peyote cult has a rather definite organization at the present time. There is always a leader, and generally there are four principal participants. John Rave, the Winnebago who introduced the peyote, is always the leader whenever he is present. On other occasions leadership devolves upon some older member. The four other principal participants change from meeting to meeting, although there is a tendency to ask certain individuals whenever it is possible. As we have seen, the ritualistic unit is a very definite one, consisting of a number of speeches and songs and the passing of the regalia from one to the other.

During the early hours, before the peyote has begun to have any appreciable effect, a number of apparently intrusive features are found. These, for the most part, consist of speeches by people in the audience, and the reading and explanation of parts of the Bible. After the peyote has begun to have an appreciable effect, however, the ceremony consists exclusively of the repetition of the ritualistic unit and confessions.

There is an initiation, consisting of a baptism, always performed by John Rave. It is of a very simple nature. Rave dips his fingers in a peyote infusion, and then passes them

over the forehead of the new member, muttering the following prayer:

“ God, His holiness.”

This is what the Winnebago really means, although some of the newer members, with strong Christian leanings, translate the prayer into “ God, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.”

Whenever the ceremony is performed in the open, a fireplace in the shape of a horseshoe is made. At one end of this fireplace is placed a very small mound of earth, called by Rave “ Mt. Sinai,” and in front of this is traced in the earth a cross. Upon the small earth mound are placed the two “ chief ” peyote, the Bible, and the staff. The latter, called by Rave the shepherd’s crook, is always covered with beadwork, and generally has a number of evenly cut tufts of deer hair on the end, and at intervals along its length. The sacred peyote, known as *hûñka* i. e., “ chief,” are exceptionally large and beautiful specimens. They are regarded by a number of people, certainly by Rave, with undisguised veneration.

In addition to the above, there is found a large eagle-feather fan, a small drum, and a peculiar, small type of rattle. To my knowledge this type was unknown among the Winnebago before its introduction by the Peyote Eaters.

A second description of the ceremony by another informant is reproduced in the following pages:

John Rave belongs to the Bear Clan, the members of which had the functions of what might be called sergeants-at-arms. He and his ancestors used to be in charge of the *manûpétei*, i. e., the sergeant-at-arms lodge, to which all malefactors would be brought for punishment.

Rave, although he belonged to this highly respected class of people, was a bad man. He was a hard drinker and roamed from place to place. He participated in all the ceremonies of the Winnebago with the exception of the Medicine dance. He had been married many times. Up to 1901 he was a heavy drinker. In that year he went to Oklahoma and while there ate the peyote. He then returned to the Winnebago and tried to introduce it among them, but none with the exception of a few relatives would have anything to do with it. This did not in any way discourage him, however, and he continued using the peyote, now and then getting a new convert.

There was not very much religion connected with it in the beginning, and the reason people drank it was on account of the peculiar effects it had upon them. Nevertheless, these peyote people preached good things and gradually lost all desire for intoxicating drinks or for participation in the old Winnebago ceremonies. Now Rave began to do away with his

old Indian customs. About four or five years ago, the membership in the peyote religion began to increase, for many people now noticed that those connected with the Peyote cult were the only people in the tribe leading a Christian life.

At this time, the Bible was introduced by a young man named Albert Hensley. He, too, had been a bad person although he was educated at Carlisle. Like Rave, he was a heavy drinker and fond of wandering.

During the last few years our members have increased so fast, that now almost half the tribe (500-600 individuals) belong to our religion. We all make efforts to lead a Christian life and we are succeeding very well.

We use the New Testament, especially the Revelations.

Our meetings take place at any time. We gather together in the evening and as soon as everything is in readiness, the leader arises and offers a prayer called, "Turning themselves over to the care of the Trinity." Then all sit down and the leader makes the regular announcements. The peyote is then passed round either in the dry condition, or steeped. The leader thereupon started the singing. These are some of the songs:

1. Ask God for life and he will give it to us.
2. God created us, so pray to him.
3. To the home of Jesus we are going, pray to him.
4. Come ye to the road of the son of God; come ye to the road.

Then Albert Hensley calls upon twelve educated members to translate and interpret certain portions of the Bible for the non-reading members. He arranges with the leader to have the singing stop at certain places so that some of these young men can speak. When these are finished, other individuals are called upon to give "testimony." Hensley always talks and so does Rave.

John Rave baptizes by dipping his hand in a diluted infusion of peyote and rubbing it across the forehead of the new member saying, "I baptize thee in the name of God, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, which is called God's holiness."

The Peyote-eaters wanted to get baptized and unite with the church in Winnebago, but the clergyman in charge would not permit them, so they went and did their own baptizing through their leader John Rave, who, though he is not educated, is full of real intelligence and religion.

If a person who is truly repentant eats peyote for the first time, he does not suffer at all from its effects. But if an individual is bull-headed, does not believe in its virtue, he is likely to suffer a good deal. This I know from my own experience. After eating peyote, I grasped the meaning of the Bible, which before had been meaningless to me.

If a person eats peyote and does not repent openly, he has a guilty conscience, which leaves him as soon as the public repentance has been made.

Old men and women who had been brought up to worship animals and all kinds of spirits, have cast them all away, and in many cases burnt their idols, not because they were told to do so, but because they felt that way.

Whenever, at our meetings, a person wishes to pray, he does so; when

he wishes to cry, he does so. Indeed, we show no timidity about worshipping God in the right way. In the Bible, one often reads of Christ casting out the devils and of the people shouting, etc. So does the peyote act on us in the beginning, although afterwards it abates in effect.

If a peyote-eater relapses into his old way of living, then the peyote causes him great suffering.

At first our meetings were started without following any rule laid down by the Bible, but afterwards we found a very good reason for holding our meetings at night. We searched the Bible and asked many ministers for any evidence of Christ's ever having held any meetings in the day-time but we could find nothing to that effect. We did, however, find evidence that he had been out all night in prayer. As it is our desire to follow as closely as we can in the footsteps of Christ, we hold our meetings at night. Then, too, when we pray we wish to get as far away as possible from earthly things and the night is the best time, for then we are not likely to be bothered by anything.

We have made earnest efforts to become Christians since we began eating and drinking this peyote, but many people say sarcastically that we have drunk ourselves to Christianity, and that we are demented. I am a peyote-eater, but I have never found a demented person among us. We claim that there is virtue in the peyote. To you who do not believe and desire to find out, let me quote the 4th Chapter of the 1st Epistle of St. John:

"Beloved, believe not every spirit, but try the spirits whether they are of God: because many false prophets are gone out into the world.

"Hereby know ye the spirit of God. Every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is of God."

We claim that you cannot find out anything by standing off at a distance and only talking about it. We claim that some earthly things can have the virtue of God, for instance the Bible, which is entirely made up of earthly material—the ink, the paper, the cover—yet it has survived the ages.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE ORGANIZATION

The above description is based on performances witnessed in 1908 and 1910. It is quite plain that at the present time a definite organization exists; that there are five principal participants, a leader and four helpers, these positions, with the exception of that of leader, not being associated with definite individuals, although, as I have said before, there is a tendency to consider them as belonging to the most active participants and disciples. No specific requirements, with the exception, of course, of that of being a peyote eater, are associated with the right to occupy these positions, although we shall subsequently see that certain requirements were soon formulated.

The first problem that confronts us is naturally, "Did this

organization exist from the very beginning; or was there an elaboration of any kind?" The data in my possession are not very explicit upon this matter. When Rave first returned with the peyote, after a visit to Oklahoma, he naturally found his tribe hostile to the innovation, and he succeeded in converting only his wife. At that time the only regalia used were the drum and the rattle. We cannot, of course, speak of any organization between these two. From what Rave says, all that took place was the singing of the peyote songs. The earliest converts to the belief were relatives, and even when the number of disciples had increased, there seems to have been little more than this singing of songs. I take it, that only when converts other than members of the immediate family began to participate, did any semblance of an organization begin to show itself. The essential point is, when did the actual performance become limited to five people? This I cannot answer. It is quite clear, however, that it took place very early, and that there is nothing to justify the assumption that there was any growth of organization. In other words, it seems quite clear to me that, as soon as there was a definite organization, it took the form of the leader and four participants.

As no specialized features have become associated with the positions of the four helpers, the only other point of interest is the manner in which leadership on certain occasions is delegated by Rave to others. As a matter of fact, it can hardly be said that leadership is ever definitely delegated by Rave to anyone else, and it would not be improper to say that many peyote people do not regard the performance of the ritual by others in the same light as that under Rave's guidance. Still, there certainly is a tendency to delegate leadership temporarily, and it may be significant to note that it is to a small group of men that leadership is thus delegated—men whom I know to have been among the first of the converts outside of Rave's immediate family, and who were leaders in the old pagan ceremonies. This delegation of leadership is, I believe, a very recent tendency, conditioned on the one hand by the size of the reserve and the impossibility of Rave's being everywhere; and, secondly, by Rave's frequent absence on proselytizing missions. To sum up, then; it seems that even at the present time leadership is associated, first, with length of membership; and, second, with strength of personality and belief.

As to the organization, what I wish to insist upon more than anything else, is the fact that there was no development in the sense of a gradation from a loosely to a definitely organized unit; or in the sense of the breaking up and assimilation on the part of the Winnebago, of an alien type. From the moment the cult became more than a purely private or family affair, that is, became socialized, the principal ceremonial unit of the Winnebago formed its basis of organization.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE RITUALISTIC COMPLEX

The peyote was introduced among the Winnebago by John Rave, a prominent member of the Bear clan. He was in the habit of traveling a good deal, but had on earlier occasions paid little attention to the peyote. On the particular visit which resulted in his first eating the peyote, he was, he informed me, in a most distressed and unhappy condition of mind, owing to the death of his wife and children. He left Winnebago with the intention of staying away as long as possible from the scenes associated with his loss.

Rave's account of how he first ate peyote tells us nothing of what induced him to do so. When I put the question to him, he answered that it was only because of repeated requests. As soon as the effects of the peyote began to manifest themselves, he repented of his action, for he began to have visions of horrible creatures pursuing him, springing upon him from all directions. Finally, during a particularly harrowing experience, in which he thought he was being pursued by a horrible monster, he suddenly came to the realization that the peyote might be causing these visions. He shouted out:

"Ah! Perhaps it is you, peyote, who are doing this to me. Help me, grandfather (i. e., the medicine). I should have known that it was you from the very beginning. As long as the world exists I shall use you (i. e., make offerings to you)."

The following night Rave ate more peyote, and in the middle of the night he saw God, up above. "Father!" he cried, "have mercy upon me. Let me know what sins I have committed. Let me know all the evil I have done. I am trying to pray to you, God, and to you, Son of God. Help me. Let me know what this religion is. Help me, peyote—grandfather. . . ." Then (he goes on to say):

"I saw the morning star, and it was good to look upon. Then I knew that I had merely been scared. Now I became happy. Day appeared—so perfect a day that nothing was invisible, and I suddenly thought of my people at home. Then it seemed to me that my home was quite close. From the window I could see my children. My wife came and stood outside the door of our house. I saw her and all my relatives. They were getting along well. Ah! Peyote, you are holy. All that is connected with you I would like to know; for now I first realize what holiness is. . . . Would to God some of the other Winnebagoes knew this religion likewise."

To judge from Rave's words, his first belief in the peyote had nothing of the nature of a conversion to a new religion. It seems to have been similar to the average Winnebago attitude toward a medicinal herb obtained either as a gift or through purchase. There is only one new note—stimulation by a narcotic.

Rave goes on to say that the peyote cured him of a disease with which he had been afflicted for a long time, and that he begged his wife, who was afflicted with the same disease, to eat it. When she finally consented, he painted her face, took the rattle, and sang peyote songs while she ate peyote. Thus he cured her. Rave's attitude throughout, both from his own testimony and from that of others, seems to have been practically the old attitude of a Winnebago shaman. According to some informants, he even offered tobacco to the peyote before using it.

We have, then, at the beginning, apparently the introduction of only one new element,—the peyote; with possibly a few Christian teachings. Everything else seems to be typically Winnebago, and in consonance with their shamanistic practices. On the whole, the extension of the Winnebago cultural background seems to have been so instantaneous that as far as the specific cultural traits of the Winnebago are concerned, there was no introduction of a new element. This view does not, of course, interfere in the least with the fact that to the Winnebago themselves the presence of the peyote represented the introduction of a new element.

The elaboration of the peyote practices at Rave's hands is the most difficult problem to trace, on account of lack of data. His attitude toward the old Winnebago life was certainly passive and unantagonistic for some time. Then it changed to one of violent hatred and antagonism. Why, and under what circumstances this took place, I do not know. It seems idle to

speculate upon the specific causes. It probably represented the interaction of many elements, the hostility of the tribe, the drawing of issues sharply around certain points, and the gradual assumption on the part of Rave of the rôle of a prophet who had solved the problem of the adjustment of the Winnebago to the surrounding white civilization. Into this question I do not wish to go at length, for to me it seems a modern by-product. However, with regard to the development of a passive into a hostile attitude toward one's own culture, it might be suggestive to point out that a similar phenomenon has occurred very frequently in the history of religious reforms of European civilization. The problem belongs, however, more properly to the study of the changes within the same culture, even although the initial stimulus for the change came from without.

Whatever were the causes, Rave's attitude toward the old Winnebago past was momentous.

It was apparently at a time when this hostility was at its height that a new convert, Albert Hensley, revolutionized the entire cult by introducing the reading of the Bible and positing the dogma that the peyote opened the Bible to the understanding of the people; and by adding a number of Christian practices, such as, perhaps, the interpretation of giving public testimony and Bible interpretation. He too had been in Oklahoma for a long time. He brought with him many peyote songs, generally in other languages, and dealing with Christian ideas, upon which subsequently Winnebago songs were modeled. He introduced likewise either baptism itself, or an interpretation of baptism, and induced Rave to attempt a union with the Christian church. He seems to have been the only prominent man connected with the peyote who, to my knowledge, was subject to epileptic fits. He had the most glorious visions of Heaven and Hell while in his trance; and these he expounded afterwards in terms of Revelation and the mystical portions of the New Testament.

Hensley's additions represent a second stratum of borrowed elements, all of which are in the nature of accretions, as far as the peyote itself is concerned, not modifying its fundamental interpretation, but on the contrary explaining the Bible in its terms. Neither he nor his followers ever interpreted the peyote in terms of the Bible. He, his immediate followers, and

even Rave himself, interpreted other elements of the old Winnebago culture in terms of the Bible. However, the elements so interpreted represented features that even in the old Winnebago cults exhibited a great variability in interpretation.

Rave's attitude toward the innovations of Hensley seems to have been that of benevolent acquiescence. He himself could neither read nor write. Yet he immediately accepted the Bible, and added it to his other regalia. As such it seems to have remained to him essentially. To Rave, after all, the peyote was the principal element; and if Hensley chose to insist that the Bible was only intelligible to those who partook of the peyote, why, that naturally fell within its magical powers. From the entire omission in Rave's account of the peyote cult, of the more important things that Hensley introduced, and from the fact that whenever Hensley's influence was not dominant there seems to have been little Bible reading, I think it justifiable to say that Rave's attitude toward these innovations was merely passive.

As far as I know, there never was any rivalry between Rave and Hensley. The latter was, however, a much younger man, quick-tempered, conceited, dogmatic, and withal, having a strong mixture of Puritan Protestant ideas. A conflict developed after a while, and in a very interesting manner. Rave had allowed a man with an extremely bad reputation, yet who had been admitted as a member of the peyote cult, to occupy one of the four positions. Hensley violently protested, on the ground that a man of X's character could not properly perform the rites associated with that position. Rave, however, retorted that the efficacy of the peyote, and of any position connected with its cult, was in no way connected with the character of the performer, and that it was inherent in the peyote and in the peyote ritual. Thereupon, after much parleying to and fro, Hensley formally seceded, taking with him a number of followers. The bulk of the peyote-eaters, however, remained with Rave, and within a comparatively short time quite a number of Hensley's followers returned to Rave, so that in 1911 Hensley had merely a handful of people. Since then he has ceased to be a force, although his innovations have been retained by many of the younger peyote members, especially by those who read English.

We find here in the later development of the peyote cult the addition of the Bible, its interpretation in terms of the peyote, and the Christian conception of the giving of testimony, or confessions, and possibly the Christian conception of baptism. To these we must add certain accretions, such as the introduction of the fire-place, the interpretation of the mound, the cross, and the staff, the introduction of a new type of songs,—peyote songs; and a peculiar development of symbolical drawings, generally upon rattles and representing visions or scenes from the Bible.

There is apparent at the present time no unification of the ideas of Rave and Hensley. They exist side by side, the ideas and practices relating to the peyote being, however, fundamental. It is impossible now to forecast the fate of the separate features of the complex, or what their reaction toward one another will be. It would certainly be one of the most interesting and suggestive problems to watch its future development, both among the Winnebago themselves, and among those tribes to whom the latter are bringing it.

DISSEMINATION OF THE DOCTRINE

Let us see now how the ideas of Rave and Hensley were transmitted in the tribe itself, who the first and the later converts were, what the nature of their conversion was, and what they, in turn, brought to the new cult.

The first and foremost virtue predicated by Rave for the peyote was its curative power. He gives a number of instances in which hopeless venereal diseases and consumption were cured by its use; and this to the present day is the first thing one hears about it. In the early days of the peyote cult it appears that Rave relied principally for new converts upon the knowledge of this great curative virtue of the peyote. The main point apparently was to induce people to try it, and I hardly believe that any amount of preaching of its direct effects, such as the hyper-stimulation induced, the glorious visions, and the feeling of relaxation following, would ever have induced prominent members of the medicine bands to do so. For that reason, it is highly significant that all the older members of the peyote speak of the diseases of which it cured them. Along this line lay unquestionably its appeal for the first converts. Its spread subsequently was due to a large number of interacting factors.

One informant claims that there was little religion connected with it at first, and that people drank the peyote on account of its peculiar effects.

The manner in which it spread at the beginning was quite simple and significant; viz., along family lines. As soon as an individual had become a peyote-eater, he devoted all his energies to converting other members of his family. From instances that have come to my notice, this lay in an insistent appeal to family ties and personal affection. He showed unusual courtesy, showered innumerable favors upon relatives he was anxious to convert, and thereby earned the gratitude of the recipient, who at some critical moment, let us say, such as illness or mental depression, showed it by partaking of the peyote. The same methods were employed in the more general propaganda. I have known peyote people to drive out many miles in order to be present at the bedside of some old conservative, who was ill, perhaps neglected by his relatives, bring him food, and spend the night with him in the most affectionate solicitude. They would not obtrude their peyote upon him. He generally knew how to draw the inference, however—that his gratitude was to be shown by trying it. I was fortunate enough to obtain a fairly complete account of a conversion, illustrating both these features, and will give it at length here.

I was at the Old Agency. There they were to try me for murder. At night, as I sat in jail, certain people came to me and told me that they had a gallon jug of whiskey, and that if I was free that night, I should come and drink with them. They would wait for me. That same night there was a peyote meeting at John Rave's house, and my brother Sam invited me to go there. Sam stood around there waiting for me. He was very low in spirits. He knew of the other invitation I had received, and he told me that he would go with me wherever I went. I wanted very badly to go to the place where they had the liquor, and should have done so if Sam had given me the least chance. However, I couldn't get rid of him, so I decided to go to the peyote meeting. When I arrived there, we found just enough room in the center for myself and Sam. Sam sat at the right of me, and John Bear at the left. In front of me there was some peyote infusion, and some dry peyote, and some peyote ground up and dampened.

As we sat there, Sam began to cry, and then I began to think. I knew why Sam was crying; he wanted me to take some of the peyote. After a while I began to think of my own troubles. But I thought that it wasn't the proper way of taking it just because I was in trouble. Then I thought of the other peyote-eaters, how much they must be wanting me to take it. After awhile I spoke to Sam and said, "I am going to eat this medicine,

but . . .” Then I began to cry. After awhile Sam tried to get me to say the balance; but I couldn’t. I drank some of the solution. As the others saw that I was willing to take it, they gave me a big ball of peyote, dampened. However, I didn’t like that, and asked for some more peyote in the dry state. I sat there, asking for more and more peyote. This I kept up all night. When morning came I stopped. Just then Harry Rave got up to speak, and no sooner did he get up, than I knew exactly what he was going to say. This must be the way of all peyote-eaters, I thought. I looked around me; and suddenly I realized that all these within the room knew my thoughts, and that I knew those of all the others. Harry Rave spoke, and finished his speech; but I had known it all before he said a word. Then A. Priest, who was leading the meeting, arose and asked the rest to get up, so that they might turn themselves over to Christ. I also arose; but when I got up I was seized with a choking sensation. I couldn’t breathe. I wanted to grab hold of Bear and Sam; but I didn’t, thinking that I was going to stand, whatever was coming to me. When I made up my mind to that, I felt relieved. Then I knew what the real meaning of turning one’s self over to Christ meant.

In the morning they stopped the meeting, and everyone seemed happy and glad. I, however, was very serious, and wondered why they were all laughing. Every once in awhile they would come and talk to me. I wondered why they did it, when they knew what was going on within me. For that reason I wouldn’t answer them.

That week there were four meetings, and I went to all of them, and ate very much peyote. The fourth meeting was at the usual place, John Rave’s house. I sat with Sam, as usual. At night I became filled with peyote. All at once I heard a voice saying, “You are the one who is to tell of the Medicine dance.” And I thought that Sam was speaking to me; so I turned around and looked at him; but he hadn’t said a word. Soon I realized that nobody near me had said anything, and I began to think, “Why should it be I? Why not one of the others?” I rather pushed the idea from me; but no sooner had I done so, than I began to have a tired and depressed sensation. This passed all over me. I knew that if I got up with the sincere purpose of giving in to the power that was wanting me to speak of the Medicine dance, I should be relieved. However, for some reason, I know not why, I felt like resisting.

The next morning I asked to be baptized, and said that I would thereafter have nothing more to do with offerings to the spirits; that I would not give any more feasts; and that I would not have any more to do with the Medicine dance. From that day on I quit all my old beliefs. I did not feel like saying all this, for indeed my heart was turned just the other way; but I couldn’t help it, for I was filled with the peyote.

From that time on at every meeting which I attended, I could not rid myself of the idea that I must tell of the Medicine dance. At all such times a feeling of heaviness would come over me. There I would be, with but one thing on my mind; should I, or should I not, tell of it? I did not want to, and thought of all sorts of excuses,—that I was not a member of the Nebraska division, etc.

In this frame of mind I was, while living with John Walker. There I received word that I would be wanted to tell of the Medicine dance. From that moment I could not rest easy. I went to the barn and prayed and wept, asking that God might direct me. I went about, but could not sit quiet. My wife staid around me, crying. As I stood there, some one drove up with a white team. Then I thought of all the unhappiness I would cause to members of the medicine lodge, if I told the secrets of the Medicine dance; and I asked myself whether it would not really be a sin to cause so much misery. The man who was driving the white team was John Baptiste; and he told me that I was wanted to tell of the Medicine dance. I got ready, and entered the buggy. I was still crying and praying. Then it occurred to me that I should like to see John Rave. No sooner had I thought of this than John Rave appeared in the road. I got out and shook hands with him and told him where I was going and for what purpose, and asked him what he thought of the matter. He began to thank me for the work I was going to do, and said, "This is what we should try to do, to help one another and to work for our Creator." Then he thanked me again. Perfect happiness now came over me, and I went to Sioux City and got married legally. From now on I was entirely filled with the desire to tell all that I knew about the Medicine dance. This must be the work assigned to me by the Creator, I thought; and yet I have rejected the idea all the time.

On Paul's last trip, although I had not finished the translation, I didn't care to have any more to do with it, and that somebody else should finish the work, my excuse being that I was busy. So as soon as I heard that Paul had come, I packed up and hurried out west as quickly as possible, for I knew that he would bother the life out of me if he found me. However, no sooner had I reached the home of my friend than I was seized with an attack of rheumatism, with which I had never been afflicted before, and on the very next morning Paul appeared, with a wagon, to take me back to Winnebago. Now I know that the telling and the translation of the Medicine dance is my mission in life, and I am willing to tell all to the full extent of my knowledge.

What these converts introduced individually it is quite impossible to establish; nor is it really necessary to assume that they brought any specific additions to the cult. What they did bring were Winnebago; and with that, the emotional and cultural setting of the old pagan background. To one, the eating of the peyote gave the same magical powers as were formerly associated with membership in the Medicine Dance; to another, the visions were direct blessings from God, directing him to perform certain actions. To a third, faithfulness to the teachings of the peyote cult became associated with a certainty of reaching God, of being able to take the right road in the journey to the spirit land. Even a man so thoroughly saturated

with Christian doctrines as Hensley himself felt it necessary to introduce an origin myth; and although I know that it was borrowed from some southern tribe, in Hensley's narrative it has already assumed all the characteristics of a Winnebago fasting experience and ritualistic myth, similar to those connected with the founders of the old Winnebago cult societies. In its totality, the atmosphere of the peyote cult became thus highly charged with the old Winnebago background. In 1911 it cannot be said that they had displaced the distinctively Christian elements introduced by Hensley. All that can be said is that the pagan background existed side by side with these Christian elements. Among the younger members, especially those who were trained in the East and could read and write English, the influence of the Christian ideas in the interpretation of old pagan features is still quite strong. The following homily will show how the old myths were used by some to point a tale.

The old people often spoke of the Trickster, but we never knew what they meant. They told us how he wrapped a coon-skin blanket around himself, and went to a place where all the people were dancing. There he danced until evening, and then he stopped and turned around. No one was to be seen anywhere, and then he realized that he had mistaken for people dancing the noise made by the wind blowing through the reeds.

So do we Winnebagoes act. We dance and make a lot of noise; but in the end we accomplish nothing.

Once, as the Trickster was going toward a creek, he saw a man standing on the other side, dressed in a black suit, and pointing his finger at him. He spoke to the man, but the latter would not answer. Then he spoke again and again, without receiving any reply. Finally he got angry and said "See here! I can do that too." He put on the black coat and pointed his finger across the creek. Thus both of them stood all day. Toward evening, when he looked around again, he noticed that the man across the creek, pointing his finger at him, was really just a tree stump. "Oh my! What have I been doing all this time? Why did I not look before I began? No wonder the people call me the Foolish One."

So are we Winnebagoes. We never look before we act. We do everything without thinking. We think we know all about it.

The Trickster was walking around with a pack on his back. As he walked along, some one called to him. "Say! We want you to sing." "All right," said he. "I am carrying songs in my pack, and if you wish to dance, build a large lodge for me, with a small hole at the end for an entrance." When it was finished, they all went in, and the Trickster followed them. Those who had spoken to him were birds. He told them that while dancing they were not to open their eyes, for if they did so, their eyes would become red. Whenever a fat bird passed the Trickster,

he would choke it to death, and if it cried out, he would say, "That's it, that's it! Give a whoop!"

After a while one of the birds got somewhat suspicious, and opened its eyes just the least little bit. He saw that the Trickster was choking all the birds. "He is killing us all!" said the bird. "Let all who can, run for their lives." Then he flew out through the top of the house. The Trickster took the birds he had killed, and roasted them; but he did not get a chance to eat them. For they were taken away from him by somebody.

So are we Winnebagoes. We like all that is forbidden. We say that we like the Medicine dance; we say that it is good; and yet we keep it secret and forbid people to witness it. We tell members of the dance not to speak about it until the world shall come to an end. They are afraid to speak of it. We, the Winnebago, are the birds, and the Trickster is Satan.

Once, as the Trickster was going along the road, something spoke to him. He listened, and he heard it say, "If anyone eats me, all bad things will come out of him." Then the Trickster went up to the one talking and said "What is your name?" "My name is Blows-himself-away." The Trickster would not believe it; so he ate it. After awhile he blew himself away. He laughed. "Oh pshaw! I suppose this is what it meant." As he went along it grew worse and worse, and it was only after the greatest hardships that he succeeded in returning home.

So are we Winnebagoes. We travel on this earth all our lives, and then when one of us tastes something that makes him unconscious, we look upon this same thing with suspicion when he regains consciousness.

THE ATTITUDE OF THE CONSERVATIVES

At every phase of the peyote cult's development, Rave had to contend with the hostility of the conservative members of his tribe. It would be interesting to know in what manner and degree this hostility manifested itself upon the first introduction of the peyote. It seems to me that in the beginning there was very little difference between the beliefs relating to the peyote and those connected with the old Winnebago medicinal plants. Yet I know there was a hostility toward the peyote. Would the same hostility have been exhibited, had this new feature represented some development from within the tribe itself? In other words, what we should like to know is, whether the fact of the peyote having been derived from without, led to a hostility different in kind from that exhibited toward an innovation developing within the culture itself. I have found no evidence of any kind from conversations with the older conservative Winnebago, that would justify me in explaining their hostility toward the peyote as due in any part

to the fact that it was alien in origin. The explanation I obtained was always the same,—that their hostility was due to the fact that the teachings of the peyote departed from those of their ancestors, and that the peyote people were aping the habits of the whites. One old conservative assured me that it had long ago been prophesied that the peyote would make its appearance among the Winnebago. He told me:

“This medicine is one of the four spirits from below, and for that reason it is a bad thing. These spirits have always longed for human beings; and now they are getting hold of them. Those who use this medicine claim that when they die they will be only going on a journey. But that is not true; for when they eat this peyote, they destroy their spirits, and death to them will mean extermination. If I spit upon the floor, the sputum will soon dry up, and in a short while, nothing will remain of it. So it will be with death. I might go out and preach against this doctrine; but it would really be of no avail; for I certainly would not be able to draw more than one or two people away from this spirit. Many will be taken in by this medicine; they will not be able to help themselves in any way. The bad spirit will certainly seize them.”

THE RELIGIOUS CONTENT

Let us now briefly discuss the nature of the religious content and its elaboration.

We have of course first and foremost the peyote. When enough of it has been taken, it acts as a strong stimulant, apparently bringing the nervous system to the highest degree of tension. The pupils of the eyes become dilated, the eyes themselves assume a glazed appearance, while the limbs become rigid. The rhythmic movement of the rattles to the accompaniment of the songs and the drum-beats is quite remarkable for its unison. In short, there are present all the signs of emotional exaltation. This exaltation seems to last until morning. The reaction differs with different individuals; but in the large majority of cases seems to take the form of a long and profound sleep. Yet I have known quite a number of individuals who did not seem to have any reaction at all.

What the inner effects are, I know only from description. There seem to be two strongly marked elements; first, a disagreeable taste, and a choking sensation; and secondly, a tendency to have visions, generally accompanied by the most gorgeous color sensations. The visions are always interpreted.

To judge from John Rave's description of his conversion,

he did not interpret the vision initially. He of course experienced the choking sensation, and noted the fact that any tendency to struggle against the effects of the peyote accentuated this choking sensation; while acquiescence relieved it. He seems very early to have associated this struggle with a notion that it was connected with a disbelief in the efficacy of the peyote, and unwillingness to become truly contrite. Later on, he elaborated this into a kind of a dogma—that the disagreeable effects of the peyote varied directly with a man's disbelief in it. This explanation he persistently drummed into the ears of beginners, who might otherwise become terrified and give up too soon. Secondly, he seems to have claimed that the only relief for the sufferer was a formal public declaration of faith in the peyote. To this declaration of faith many details were added by individuals, as they joined the cult, so that gradually it took the stereotyped form of the narration of their former sinful life, magnifying it and announcing the completeness of the change wrought in them by the virtue of the peyote. With the exception of these details, there was a definite interpretation of the more immediate effects of the peyote from a rather early time; and this was followed, with variations, by all new converts.

The visions were of two kinds; either they were of monsters pursuing an individual, or they constituted more or less elaborate dreams. For the former I found no general interpretation. Each individual was allowed to interpret them or not, as he chose. A number of individuals accepted them as material manifestations of their personal defects of character, one man assuring me that he vomited bulldogs when he first took peyote, and that this symbolized to him deliverance from his bulldog, stubborn nature. The dream visions are interpreted individually, although some are not interpreted at all. For that matter, not all claim to have them. In some cases, the individuals are directed to perform certain actions; in others, salient facts in their lives are explained. Hensley paid a visit to God, and afterwards to Hell, and was rescued from being crushed to pieces by two rocks, by an eagle, swooping down from Heaven and bearing him away. Rave had a vision of seeing the sun in the middle of the heavens at midnight. His brother, who was ailing, had a vision of seeing four boxes swimming far out on mid-ocean. As they gradually came nearer and nearer,

he finally recognized them as receptacles containing love potions that his wife had, supposedly, thrown away long ago. In consequence of this vision, he discovered that his wife was still using the old pagan medicines in order to retain his love, and that this was causing his ailment. None of these visions seem as yet to have taken the form of real stories. It would certainly repay a person to make as large a collection of them as possible in the near future, to see whether a general type is developing, and what relation it bears to the older dream experiences.

RELATION OF THE PEYOTE CULT TO THE OLD CULTURAL BACKGROUND

To understand correctly the relation of the peyote cult to the old cultural background of the Winnebago, it is essential first to know what part Rave played in the latter. He was a member of the Bear clan, and had participated actively in all the prominent ceremonies, with the exception of the Medicine dance. He was thus thoroughly acquainted with the ritualistic and organization units. What relation did this old knowledge bear to the new cult he founded? Was there, for instance, a conscious substitution of the type of ceremonial organization and of the ritualistic unit of the older ceremonies; or was there a subconscious continuation of the same? I think that we are probably dealing with the latter, and that none of the units of the ceremonial complex really arose into his consciousness. It is rather important to bear this in mind; for it has a fundamental bearing on the question of the older cultural units playing the rôle of conscious patterns. In the same way it is quite probable that Rave's extension to the peyote of all the associations grouped around the medicinal herbs was unconscious and instantaneous. The only really new thing then he brought back to the Winnebago for future assimilation was the peyote itself, its ceremonial eating, and its effects.

It would appear at first, that the fact that the peyote was not associated with various guardian spirits represented a new feature. But medicinal herbs, it must be remembered, were frequently purchased, and the borrowing of the peyote might belong to the same category. It is very likely that as in the case of the sacred shell of the Medicine dance borrowed from the central Algonkin, the peyote would, under normal conditions of Indian life, have become associated with some deity.

As a matter of fact, the origin myth introduced by Hensley shows a development in that direction even at the present time.

The last, and in some respects the most important, influence of the old cultural background shows itself in the gradual adoption of old observances and features. So, for example, a ceremonial circuit of the lodge was at one time associated with the peyote cult; one finds two sacred peyote, one interpreted as male, the other as female; the old sacred mound of the buffalo-dance, interpreted as Mt. Sinai; the crossed lines drawn in the earth, etc. There are at the present time only a few old interpretations of the new features. However, it must be regarded as significant that some of the characteristics of the old religious experiences have become associated with the peyote—the hearing of voices, a visit to the home of God, the gift of song, etc. In a similar manner, the powers of a shaman, such as the foretelling of events, reading the thoughts of others, etc., have been connected with it.

There is also a marked influence of the new Christian upon the old Winnebago beliefs. Thus we have seen the mound interpreted as Mt. Sinai, the crossed lines as the cross with Christ upon it, and the ceremonial crook as the shepherd's crook, or as the rod with which Moses smote the rock. There seems to be, however, one marked difference between these interpretations and the older Winnebago ones. They differ from individual to individual, while the others seem to be more generally diffused.

There are a number of cases where it is impossible to determine whether we are dealing with a re-interpretation or with a substitution. As this is an exceedingly important question, I will enumerate a few examples: baptism; the crook; confessions; and the story of the two roads.

Dipping one's hand in water and drawing lines on the forehead of an individual sounds like the real Christian baptism, to be sure. Yet we know that painting the patient's face was a prominent feature in the shaman's treatment of disease; and that Rave speaks of it in connection with the conversion of his own wife. Are we then to regard the baptism here as a re-interpretation of the old Winnebago custom, or as a real substitution of Christian baptism? And if the later alternative is accepted, what influence are we to ascribe to the older Winnebago belief in suggesting Christian baptism? The same ques-

tion will have to be answered in connection with the crook, confessions, and the story of the two roads. The bear clan had two ornamented sticks, of which Rave's family was the keeper. In general appearance there was not much difference between these and the Christian shepherd's crook. What is the relation of the two? In the ritualistic myth telling of the road to heaven, one finds the bifurcating road, one leading to Earth-maker, the other to the Bad Spirit. In the peyote cult we find the familiar Biblical story of the two roads, one leading to Heaven, and the other to eternal damnation. Again, let us take the question of the confession. In their present form, they certainly seem Christian, with a strong suggestion of the early Methodists. Yet giving testimony to the magical virtues of herbs in order to prove that one has been blessed by certain spirits, was characteristic of all Winnebagoes when first participating in a religious cult society. Granted even that all these things really are Christian elements, it is quite obvious that the fact that they were so readily accepted, suggests a relation between them and the older elements enumerated, and that just as in the case of ceremonial units, so here too there has been a selective borrowing, determined by the specific possessions of the recipient's cultural background.

CONCLUSION

It would seem, then, that even this very cursory sketch of the development of the peyote cult may be of use to us in the more definite formulation of what we are really to look for in cultural contact; and to the realization that there is little significance in saying that certain beliefs, myths, objects, etc., are borrowed, when they are found in two areas between which diffusion is possible. What we want to know is, what lies at the bottom of the facts that just these have been borrowed, and how they were borrowed. How did the recipient culture and the person or persons who were the actual transmitters of new features limit the elements borrowed? Was there an inert substitution of a new for an old feature; was there a re-interpretation of the old in terms of the new; or, lastly, a re-interpretation of the old in terms of its own culture, but due to stimulation from without? These are a few of the questions that must be answered in each specific case, before we can arrive at even a preliminary concept of what really constitutes the mechanism of borrowing.

THE EROTOGENETIC INTERPRETATION OF RELIGION: ITS OPPONENTS REVIEWED

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From Pausanias of ancient Greece to the present time many observers have commented upon some connection between some religion and lust. It is high time that the multiplicity of observed and suggestive facts receive a more thorough psychologic interpretation, and synthetic treatment to the end that the numerous empiric inductions be combined into a rational generalization. I have been doing some work to this end; a portion of it has been published.¹ My own working hypothesis may be stated thus: The differential essence of religion is always reducible to a sex ecstasy. When frankly avowed as such, then the apotheosis of sex results in some form of phallic worship. When not recognized as a sex ecstasy, or not frankly avowed as such, the erotic origin of religion is revealed by an extravagant overvaluation of the sacredness or sinfulness of some sex manifestations. In this form the sex ecstasy becomes religious "experience" by being misinterpreted as the direct and immediate perception of the mysterious—superphysical—"transcendental," thus becoming an indiscriminating witness for the inerrancy of all those varying and often contradictory doctrines and ceremonials believed to be of "spiritual" potency in the promotion of present, material, ecstatic or post mortem well-being and which doctrines and ceremonials happen, in the experiencing persons, to be associated with the religious "experience" and therefore are accepted as a part of the religious percept. Thus it is that all variety of religionists know because they feel and are firmly convinced in proportion as they are strongly agitated. The religionist viewing this same process with a different predisposition might well speak of religion as the entelechy of sex.

So far as I am informed, no one has yet undertaken to state, or, by the conscious use of the whole of the scientific method, to justify so inclusive a thesis upon this subject, or to

point out in exact generalization the nature of the fundamental connections between religion and sex. Neither has any one among the many who have written in defense of some narrower thesis undertaken to give us any adequate study of the criteria of religion itself. In consequence of these defects in the earlier erotic interpretations of religion it was unavoidable that the criticisms of the erotogenetic theory should have fallen far short of an effective attack upon the later conceptions of the theory. This is so, largely because the advocates of the erotogenetic theory have not yet stated as clearly as might have been done the whole true foundation by which that theory is justified. Consequently the critics have failed to meet adequately their antagonist's case as it can be and will be presented. Notwithstanding this it is important to the progress of the controversy that the more important critics be answered; and this I now propose to do.

P. NAECKE

In reviewing the sexual roots of religion, P. Naecke affirms² that "the identity of religious and sexual ecstasy is mentioned as proof of the close relation between religion and the sexual instinct. The identity, however, is merely apparent. In both, the individual appears withdrawn from the world. In religious ecstasy there is present solely the idea of divinity, in which the faithful one loses himself; but in sexual ecstasy only the pleasurable emotion engulfs everything. In one all bodily functions appear hampered, in the other accelerated, etc. Religious ecstasy can certainly appear of itself, or may become mixed with the erotic, while sexual ecstasy remains sexual throughout and allows no other God near it. There is therefore, no necessary relationship between religion and the sexual even here."

Here the author exhibits his "will to believe" in the psychogenetic "purity" of religion as more potent than his devotion to the scientific method. Such writers would find their intellects clarified and their approach to the psycho-analysis of religion more comfortable, if they could be relieved of the influence of the prevalent sex-phobia and view the situation with the greater healthy-mindedness of G. Stanley Hall, who recognizes that religion is in no sense degraded if its origins are shown to root in sex.³

If the identity of the religious and sexual ecstasy is more

apparent than real, as Naecke asserts, then it rests upon him to supply the objective physical criteria for their differentiation. Many victims of religious enthusiasm as well as observing clergymen have found it difficult to distinguish between the two.⁴ When the distinguishability of sex ecstasy and the essence of religion is the very crux of the issue, we must look upon all dogmatic assertions not verifiable by objective physical criteria as expressing only the author's emotional predisposition.

Naecke's statement that in religious ecstasy "all bodily functions are hampered" needs a little comment. Even if religious ecstasy is a mere perverted sexuality, then still it could scarcely be otherwise than that during its active period the bodily functions should be hampered. According to the erotogenetic theory the religious ecstasy may be founded on an hallucination, or illusion which is often aided by looking at pictures of religious personages whose faces seem to move in reflection of the moods of the worshiper. In such cases the successful substitution of psychic stimulation, promotes a diffusion of the nervous excitation over the whole body. The victim feels lost in a swirl of emotions which in its extreme produces loss of consciousness and of course long before the extreme is reached may bring about an utter forgetfulness of the erotic origin of the excitation as well as of the immediate environment.

In such a case the violence of the erotic impulse is usually intense, involving the whole nervous organism. This impulse being spent autosomatically the accompanying physical inhibitions and attitudes differ of course from what they would be if the erotic climax had been normal in intensity and spent along the channel proper to it. The difference is one between normal sexuality with a consciousness of its source as well as its superficial nature, and psychic auto-erotism unrecognized as such and consequently spiritualized, transcendentalized and objectivized. This, I think, is a probable explanation of Naecke's statement that: "In religious ecstasy there is present solely the idea of divinity in which the faithful one loses himself; but in the sexual ecstasy only the pleasurable emotion which engulfs everything."

Upon another phase of the question, Naecke affirms that "phallic worship appears to have developed after the creation of bad and good divinities as a deification of the sexual act to which was ascribed a direct divine influence . . . If the enumerated chronology of facts

be correct we must recognize that religion as such does not rest on sexual foundations alone, although it may show in its later development a few sexual twigs, or, more properly speaking, off-shoots, such as phallic worship at an early cultural period, and in later periods a degeneration of the love of God. Everything that is ordinarily pointed out as the sexual roots of religion is therefore the result only of secondary contamination and blending, not part of the original foundation."

I am at once made suspicious by the form of this statement, because to me it reads like a thinly disguised revamping of the revivalists' usual explanation that the concurrence of religious and sexual enthusiasms, is due to Satan's imitation of the holy, pure and divine love. My suspicion is strengthened when in the same article I find Naecke admitting that he knows of "no positive proof unfortunately" that it was relatively late when the phallic element was injected into religion. So then, according to his own admission, his statement of the chronological order of events is pure dogmatism. A very similar error is made by Crawley, but in form a better challenge to the psychologist. The reader is therefore referred to that discussion hereinafter for criticism upon this point.

Even Naecke is forced by the strength of evidence to admit that eroticism frequently manifests itself within the range of religious ecstasy; nevertheless he postulates the generalization that "religious ecstasy can certainly appear of itself." The erotic feature, where present, is an admixture. But this is the very point of issue and should not have been passed by Naecke without proof. As a mere assertion it is only significant of his preconception in the matter but of no value to the discussion. The religio-sexual ecstasy may not be a mixture at all and indeed is conceived to be only a particular manifestation of the sexual instinct. Where the erotic feature is very distinct we are confronted not simply with a mixture but with a clearer manifestation of that very essence which in its milder stages was easily concealed, and often misinterpreted.

Furthermore, this theory of religious chronology, which admittedly rests wholly upon the author's inner consciousness and his "will to believe," contradicts a necessary deduction from Spencer's formula of evolution, which asserts a progression "from an indefinite incoherent homogeneity to a definite, coherent heterogeneity." Elsewhere⁵ I applied this law deductively to the known objects of religious worship and concluded

that "only in the primal sex worship of racial adolescence, when every man finds a part of himself to be the source of every religious essence and the object of his religious sentiment can we find that ultimate incoherence and homogeneity which the law of evolution conditions as existing at the time of religious inchoation." This conclusion, that therefore, sex worship must have been the first of all religions, I further confirm by some anthropological data. Naecke had that argument before him when he wrote, but instead of answering it directly, contented himself with expressing his displeasure with the conclusion.

Naecke continues: "Is there religion without sexual basis? I believe the answer must be decidedly in the affirmative." Had Dr. Naecke taken the trouble to furnish us his differential criteria of religion it is probable that in the foregoing sentence we should find that he was not talking about religion at all but about a mere theology adopted by sympathetic imitation, or perhaps a scientific conviction about a religious subject-matter.⁶ Writing of the so-called later acquired sexual characteristics which happen in connection with divinities which represent the reproductive principle, he adds this: "And it matters little that these divinities happen to be among the earliest and the ones to fall into the background later." To me this seems to matter very much when one is concerning himself seriously with religious psycho-genetics. That Dr. Naecke could thus dogmatically reject this important evidentiary fact again shows the intensity of his predisposition.

ANDREW LANG

Andrew Lang has tried in a single clever sentence to reduce much of the discussion of the phallic origin of religion to an absurdity. The Rev. Arthur E. Whatman during the preparation of a paper on "The Sign of the Mother Goddess," wrote Lang, inviting an opinion. Dr. Lang expressed himself as follows:⁷

"It does not seem possible to know what Homer meant by the 'Gestus.' It may have been a necklace hanging over the breast, or a talisman or a pendant amulet. As we have no representation of the thing in art (very late Minoan or sub-Minoan) it is impossible to do more than guess. . . . No later author than Homer knew anything on the subject. I was unaware that the triangle (as on Bass' ale) was phallic. What will phallicists not call phallic?"

It seems to me that in spite of its brevity this disturbing bit of witticism does require some serious words in refutation of what is implied. It is of course absurd in our present environment to say that the triangle of a business trade-mark should be interpreted as a present phallic symbol. However, Lang's insinuation and implication that it is equally absurd to consider the triangle a sexual symbol under any other circumstance is quite untenable. In our time the word-symbol is the usual manner of representing everything. This was not so in the prehistoric times when crude drawing and crude sculpture were the only methods of symbolization. Hence a present-day triangle could hardly be rationally interpreted as symbolizing anything but mechanical objects or geometrical ideas. Not so among primitive peoples. There a crude drawing or sculpture was the only means for graphic presentation of any thing or idea. Among such people a triangle would be a most natural and quite a necessary selection as a symbol of the pudendal region as naturally outlined. The conception of its sacredness only supplied the motive for more frequent use of the symbol. If in addition the historical period during which the particular triangle in use is one in which sex worship and sex symbolism form an important part of the mental content of the people, then a very different inference arises as to the meaning of the triangle. This is not the place to discuss the sufficiency of the evidence adduced by Whatman; it is enough to point out in reply to Lang that it is a question of evidence and that the probative value of a triangle when its use in religious art relates to a time in which phallic symbolisms were rife is quite different from its evidential value in our own time. Mr. Lang's *reductio ad absurdum* shows that for once Mr. Lang descended to absurdity.

EDWIN D. STARBUCK

Prof. Edwin D. Starbuck⁸ acknowledges that "in a certain sense the religious life is an irradiation of the reproductive instinct." Such mystifying, figurative language as "irradiation of the instinct" is out of place except perhaps in theological literature and under poetic license. After consulting several dictionaries I am still unable to translate the words into any definite concept. The question arises in my mind whether this very mystifying simile is not in itself, illustrative of an

early step in the transition from normal conscious sensuality to religion. By trying to describe feelings of sexual origin in terms of the objective physical world by the use of figurative language we first lose sight of its essential nature and finally deny this nature altogether, and ascribe our experience to something objective and maybe extra-physical and transcendental. At any rate, Starbuck seems almost to concede that at the beginning, religion and sex may have been bound together but claims that religion has become something different. May it not be that we have only fooled ourselves by subterfuges invented to explain away the true sources of religion? Here are Mr. Starbuck's words:

"Even if it is true that religion was at first intimately bound up in those duties and ceremonies which are the outgrowth of sex, in its later stages it may have entirely changed its character. . . . We have to distinguish constantly between causes and conditions of growth."

Starbuck was engaged in scientific endeavor in the field of the psychology of religion. Having observed that "religion was at first intimately bound up in those duties and ceremonies which are the outgrowth of sex," manifestly his problem was to search for a psychologic explanation of that intimate relationship. Had the observed facts suggested to Starbuck the Freudian "unbearable idea" he could not have suppressed more thoroughly his consciousness of the real problem which confronted him. Although the outward manifestations and intellectual explanation of religions may change often yet it requires evidence which no one has yet undertaken to offer, to prove that its essential nature has ever been transformed. If now it is no longer generally recognized to be sexual, or not frankly confessed as such, this in all probability is mainly due to the fact that theologasters, also scientists like Mr. Starbuck, disguise or conceal their "unbearable ideas," behind such mystical verbiage as "irradiation of an instinct." Until contrary proof is offered, the law of persistence of type requires us to hold that religion is still in its essence sexual, if it ever was so.

ERNEST CRAWLEY

Ernest Crawley criticises the erotogenists by saying that "phallic worship proper is, however, extremely rare, if, indeed, it ever occurs; veneration it is true, is frequently found, but this like many a

so-called cult, is simply an affirmation of the sacredness of life. No student of anthropology now regards as serious the many attempts that have been made to raise such cases to the rank of organized phallic religion."⁹

By the last sentence Crawley really can mean only that he will not classify among the "students of anthropology" any of the numerous investigators who disagree with him. That this is only the dogmatic justification of an imperative preconception is evidenced by the preceding sentence which shows that the same predisposition blinded him to the fact that he was reversing the order of the evolution of reasoning. According to the erotogenetic theory of religion, out of certain personal sexual experiences coming into consciousness there grew the idea of the sacredness of the sexual organs and later their worship. The knowledge that many other phenomena were related to and dependent upon sex came long afterwards. Thus gradually some of these collaterals of sexuality were included with the religio-sexual concepts and at times supplanted them, as objects of worship. This sex essence of the later religious complex sometimes does not even come to the surface of consciousness, though always present as an essential of religion. All these general ideas and complexes are a late product of evolution, derived from the primal concrete idea of an independent intelligence, at first inhabiting and later manifesting itself through our own sexual apparatus, power which makes for happiness. Mr. Crawley reverses this process. He assumes that the general idea of life preceded the more concrete idea of a super-physical intelligence residing within the generative apparatus and that sacredness of sex was deduced from the sacredness of life. Of course the law of evolution implies exactly the reverse of this. Concrete concepts of and reverence for the particular reproductive agencies must have preceded general ideas of life and its value or the worship of the generative process as a whole.¹⁰ It is therefore manifestly absurd to say that primitive humans adopted phallic worship as a result of deductive processes. Indeed, long after man became conscious of the joy and sacredness of sex, he was unaware that copulation is a means to pregnancy. Since Crawley, in the course of criticism, virtually repudiates the law of evolution and ignores the evidences to be derived from sexual psychology and psychoanalysis, his objection may be dismissed without further comment.

EDWARD SCRIBNER AMES

Edward Scribner Ames quotes Crawley with approval and specially emphasizes the error that love of life gives rise to the idealization of the life-giving process.

Ames admits that ¹¹ "religion embodies many of these complex, ideal manifestations of the sexual impulse." Also that "both the synchronous appearance of the sexual instinct and religious awakening and the common social character of the two, point to their fundamental connection." But he states further: "Those who regard religion as a perversion of the sexual instinct, may be answered with facts. Phallic worship is often cited as evidence of the perversion of the sexual instinct."

In this last statement Ames shows clearly that he has no adequate conception of such views as I hold concerning the erotogenesis of religion. Phallic worship, as such, is further removed from perverted sexuality than many of our modern religious practices whose sexual essence is denied.

In the earliest beginnings phallicism was but a species of the extravagance of ignorance applied to some normal sex-manifestations and, of course, was accompanied by the misinterpretation of the nature and cause of sexual phenomena. It is withal a frank recognition of sexual processes as such. Phallic worship was the apotheosis of ordinary sex functioning, then but recently arisen into the consciousness of man just as the modern religion is but the apotheosis, more cleverly disguised, of the same sex ecstasy which furnished the content of the earliest 'religious' consciousness. Formerly it was usually normal sexuality that produced the religious ecstasy, now it is often psychic erotism which is called religious experiences, and its sexual character denied usually or at least often through ignorance. It matters little that by its victims and apologists alike the true essence of modern religion, is disguised under a complex figurative phraseology, that its true origin and nature are obscured by ignorance and misrepresentation and often by the fact that for the unskilled observer the perversion of the impulse conceals its real 'erotic' character. The psychologist who approaches the subject without bias should nevertheless be able to note that, instead of losing its sexual character, the denial of it in modern religion proves the greater frequency of sex-perversion in religion and leads to genuine phobias against normal sexuality. This warping or perversion of the instinct

with its resultant sex-phobia and the sympathetic imitation of the latter by the weak is really all there is to the seeming antagonism of religion and sensualism, which Ames lays stress upon. The development of sexual phobias cannot be looked upon as proof of such antagonism but on the contrary: such phobias, and asceticism testify to the presence of great sexual tension even though in a particular case a complete perversion of the sexual instinct has not yet been attained. Psycho-analysis, applied to the sex-phobias of religionists, I am confident, will clearly reveal the sexual nature of the religion of which those phobias are a part.

GEORGE BARTON CUTTEN

The Rev. George Barton Cutten¹² follows the argument of Prof. William James in his opposition to the erotogenetic theory of religion which argument will be critically examined hereinafter. When Rev. Mr. Cutten leaves the argument of James to pursue his own, he makes admissions most damaging to his conclusions, without having any apparent consciousness of their destructive properties, thus illustrating, rather forcefully, the blinding power of unreasoned predispositions.

In the first place Rev. Cutten would appear as a modern type of mind acquainted with and accepting the doctrine of evolution that "the history of the race is repeated in the individual."¹³ He admits, therefore, that, "the various phenomena—accession to puberty, rapid physical development, transformations in mental life, and spontaneous religious awakening—are so closely interwoven that we may say with certainty that they had in evolutionary development a direct and intimate relation." And yet the Rev. Mr. Cutten does not see that, "if religion and sex in evolutionary development have had a direct and intimate relation," and, as Haeckel has shown, the life of the individual is a "compressed reproduction" of the life of the race, then it must be that, as in the immaturity of the race so now and forever in the immaturity of the individual, religion must bear to sex "a direct and intimate relation."

Again he says (p. 432):

"Religious devoutness shows itself by sexual abnormality in two extremes, excesses of indulgence and repression. Why some devotees are led to sexual indulgence and others to abstinence is a question which can be

answered only by an appeal to the psychology of the individual, and the forces which are brought to bear upon his mind."

Let us not be too certain. Whether manifested in "spiritual" sensuality, or asceticism resulting from an extravagant overvaluation of the sinfulness of normal sexuality and usually accompanied by some form of perverted eroticism, the excessive lewdness admittedly accompanying the more intense states of "religious devoutness" is not a new element suddenly injected into the person. Dr. Cutten has admitted that it was so in the beginning also, that is, in evolutionary development. To the evolutionist, nature has no sudden and new creations or injections. All is development by more or less imperceptible changes largely of proportion. What is then admitted to be true of the present extreme devoutness, and at the beginning of religious evolution, must be also true, in a lesser degree, of all lesser devoutness down to that uncertain point where religion itself fades out.

Again, I agree absolutely with the following statement of Dr. Cutten:

"Much ado is made of a clergyman or prominent religious worker who is guilty of sexual sin; but in not a few cases the alienist might furnish us with a basis, not only for pity but for a partial (at least) justification. The very nervous constitution *which is necessary for excessive devoutness*, in different members of a congregation, *may make sexual desire more active* and at the same time, lessen the power of self-control."

I agree that in such circumstances there often is much unjustified harshness of criticism and a great deal of hypocritical deprecation. It is a little strange that one who presumes to write as a psychologist should not see in this last admission even a little evidence of a casual relation between religion and sensualism. Evidently the religious predisposition blinded Dr. Cutten to the probative force of this and other evidence which he furnishes, so that he could not see its connection with that which he must have known from some study of the psychology of hysteria. In view of his unexplained admissions which tend to support the theory which he opposes, Dr. Cutten's personal objections are of little or no value. At any rate, nothing said by him really answers the argument of his opponents, and his admissions increase the necessity for an adequate explanation for the continuing concomitance of religious "experience" and unusual sexual enthusiasm.

PROFESSOR WILLIAM JAMES

Undoubtedly the best known American critic of the eroto-genetic theory is Prof. William James. His adverse comment has been followed most often by geniuses of lesser order. His views have an added interest also because intellectually he is one of the most highly evolved of our modern mystics. A fervid imagination enabled him to dress his thoughts in words of entrancing poetic charm. Generally speaking, James is so ingenious in his rhetoric that he bewilders and loses not only his readers but himself also, in mazes wherein it is hard to discriminate between illustrations of his imagination and argument from facts; or between literal truth, figurative language and mere analogies. This process of psychic transilience in many a religious enthusiast is completed in definite hallucinations in which figures of speech have assumed the appearance of literal reality. These mystical characteristics constitute James' strongest appeals to his uncritical readers but render him quite elusive to the true scientist.

It is convenient to review Prof. James' criticisms¹⁴ seriatim. He begins with admission against interest.

"It is true," he says, "that in a vast collection of religious phenomena some are undisguisedly amatory—e. g., sex deities and obscene rites in polytheism and ecstatic feelings of union with the Savior in a few Christian mystics. But then why not equally call religion an aberration of the digestive function, and prove one's point by the worship of Bacchus and Ceres, or by the ecstatic feelings of some other saints about the eucharist? Religious language clothes itself in such poor symbols as our life affords and the whole organism gives overtones of comment whenever the mind is strongly stirred to expression. Language drawn from eating and drinking is probably as common in religious literature as is language drawn from the sexual life. We 'hunger and thirst' after righteousness; we 'find the Lord a sweet savor'; we 'taste and see that the Lord is good.' 'Spiritual milk for American Babes Drawn from the Breast of Both Testaments' is a subtitle of the once famous New England Primer, and Christian devotional literature indeed quite floats in milk, thought of from the point of view not of the mother, but of the greedy babe."

"St. François de Sales, for instance, thus describes the 'Orison of quietude'; 'In this state the soul is like a little child still at the breast, whose mother, to caress him while he is still in her arms, makes her milk distill into his mouth without his even moving his lips. So it is here. . . . Our Lord desires that our will should be satisfied with sucking the milk which His Majesty pours into our mouth, and that we should relish the sweetness without even knowing that it cometh from the Lord.' And again: 'Consider the little infants, united and joined to the breasts of

their nursing mothers, you will see that from time to time they press themselves closer by little starts to which the pleasure of sucking prompts them. Even so, during its orison, the heart united to its God oftentimes makes attempts at closer union by movements during which it presses closer upon the divine sweetness.' *Chemin de la Perfection*, ch. XXXI; *Amour de Dieu*, VII, ch. 1."

These paragraphs show that Prof. James' "will to believe" predominated over his desire to know the whole truth. Otherwise he could not have remained so ignorant of the great erotic import and the clearly sexual features of the celebrations of Bacchus and Ceres¹⁵ as to see in them religious ceremonials so predominately gustatory as to preclude the inference of a sexual motive. Perhaps he only consulted expurgated Sunday-School mythologies published primarily to conceal vital truths and to sell.

It is no doubt true that religious language clothes itself in such symbols as our life affords. The problem of the genetic psychologist is to discover why different persons are impelled toward different kinds of symbols. In other words, why and whence comes the psychologic imperative which in each case makes the particular symbol used seem to the user the most expressive or suggestive? Subject to the restraint of conventions or fear, sensual men are prone to use unnecessarily such verbal imagery or to focus their attention upon such details, as are suggestive of sex to their own thinking. This is so because with these persons in response to their strongest bodily craving such imagery is nearest the surface of their consciousness. In this light, what is the obvious interpretation of such a phrase as "spiritual milk from the breasts of both Testaments," when used to describe a primer of religious content? If this is to be explained on the assumption of imagery from the standpoint of hunger and food, why was it not expressed as a "spiritual ham sandwich from both quarters of God's word?" In New England ham was just as important an element of diet as mother's milk. For the psychologist, this choice cannot be ascribed to chance. His problem is to discover what imperative determined the choice among images equally possible, when considered objectively, to the person under examination.

Suppose we imagine a primer written by a hungry nursing babe for whom the most frequent and the most important ex-

perience of life is the act of nursing. It would be the most natural thing conceivable for such an infant, in quest of figurative language by which to describe a "spiritual" craving or any "spiritually" satisfying experience, to select figures derived from nursing experience. Of course this would then be done from the view-point of a greedy babe with but few baby experiences to draw upon, and the illustration selected would naturally be the one nearest the surface of its infantile consciousness. The choice would be determined by the fact that within its limited supply of metaphor these two experiences presented or suggested the greatest similarity. However the present problem is to discover what force or craving compelled an adult man, writing a primer which imparts "spiritual food," to conceive of this as "milk from the breasts of both Testaments."

Obviously, his own religious experience could scarcely have had in it anything to suggest the visual, auditory or tactual cognizance of a nursing babe as something similar to a like cognizance of things of the "spirit." Nor does Prof. James suggest that such is the explanation. He seems to think the authors of such phrases are describing their own religious feelings as somehow related to women's breasts, but he thinks related from the standpoint of the greedy babe, not from the standpoint of the adult authors. Obviously then, the choice of a woman's breasts as a figurative description of some religious experience must have come to the consciousness of the author because his "spiritual" experiences were like some other experience of his with which women's breasts were closely allied in his thought. Can it be possible that the word-symbols in which Prof. James saw only food and hunger were after all sexual and therefore support the very theory which he sought to overthrow?

An orthodox Freudian psycho-analyst would probably hold such symbolism as "spiritual milk for American babes from the breasts of both Testaments" to imply an imaginative subconscious reversion to and comparison with the infantile joys of nursing experience. Perhaps even James might agree thus far. A Freudian predisposed to the erotogenetic view of religion might go further and assert that even in the sensuous joy of sucking, the infant experiences a diffused or undifferentiated sexecstasy, and conclude therefore that such a reversion as is

evinced by this symbolism supports or at least is consistent with, the erotogenetic interpretation of religion.

To my mind, these interpretations of the figurative language in question are fundamentally wrong in that they all attempt to hark back to infantile experiences which are so far below consciousness that we can not even assert their existence as a potential memory. When our infantile experience is so far forgotten that no effort can revive it in consciousness as a concrete reproduction in memory, I see no reason for believing it possible that it can be or will be revived from the subconscious for the purpose of making comparisons with or descriptions of a present experience.

To my mind, the choice of figurative language, such as is under investigation, is better explained in another way. The feelings which are evoked in an adult observer by the vision of a woman's breasts are not the feelings of a greedy babe. On the contrary, they are a reminder of some more recent occasion when the same feelings were associated with a woman's breasts. Those familiar with the puritanic obsession need not be told the source of that revived emotion. The religious feeling suggested woman's breasts in a manner that could not be frankly avowed, and the breast-concept pressing for expression the associated idea of a nursing babe came to mind as a tolerable means to that end. The unconscious testimony of this breast-simile is that "spiritual" experience is very much like, if not identical with, the feelings aroused in a puritan mind by the sight of woman's breasts. Thus, upon a more careful analysis, Prof. James' refutation of the erotogenetic theory of religion becomes a confirmation thereof.

Thus far we have considered the simile which Prof. James calmly assumes to be beyond all question of non-sexual character and origin, to have been the mental product of a man living a sex-life not far removed from the normal. In the absence of knowledge upon the subject, this assumption may be unwarranted. A searching inquiry into the sex-life of this author might reveal a very different explanation for this particular choice of figurative language. To illustrate, had Prof. James taken account of the available knowledge in the realm of sexual psychology, he would have had less confidence in his predisposition to find a non-sexual explanation for the breast-sucking allegory. He would then have recalled that woman's

breasts are a most important secondary sex attraction and that the sucking of the breasts is, for many persons, an highly effective aphrodisiac and may even become a means of perverted gratification. This practice of breast sucking by adults may also become obsessive and inhibitive of the normal intercourse, and, of course, like all other forms of sensualism, the perverted gratification may be spiritualized and become of religious significance.

I have before me some correspondence from a religious "crank," who writes me that he has not had sexual intercourse with his wife for nine years. He tells me to "gird" my loins, and gives directions as to how to do this "internally and spiritually." He says:

"Resolve never to touch your wife again after the manner of the beast. Say the Lord's Prayer often. You may nurse at the dry breasts of your wife three minutes every A. M. before rising. . . . By such a practice I believe a man will remain in the flesh a thousand years again and be the elect of God."

My correspondent finds material in the Bible to corroborate his view.

It seems that here the breast-sucking by an old man produced an exhilaration which induced the confidence of a thousand years of existence in the flesh and nearness to God. How can Prof. James ask us to assume without any evidence that this breast simile of the New England Primer was not the product of practices similar to those of my correspondent?

Prof. James, continuing his effort to reduce the erotogenetic theory to absurdity, proceeds thus:

"In fact, one might as well interpret religion as a perversion of the respiratory function. The Bible is full of the language of respiratory expression: 'Hide not thine ear at my breathing, my groaning is not hid from thee; my heart panteth, my strength faileth me; my bones are hot with my roaring all the day long, as the hart panteth after the water brooks, so my soul panteth after thee, O my God.' 'God's Breath in Man' is the title of the chief work of our best known American mystic (Thomas Lake Harris); and in certain non-Christian countries the foundation of all religious discipline consists in regulation of the inspiration and expiration."

This reasoning I should hardly have thought needed an answer had it emanated from a less distinguished source. However, with James as the author, many will be predisposed to give it undue credence.

Whether or not religion is the perversion of any bodily function is not to be determined solely by the character of the figurative language used. The inducing cause for its use, however, may furnish strong evidence. One may be impelled solely by his environment to give unusual thought to sex matters, and because of such sex-centered attention may with great frequency use sexual allegory in describing religious emotions or concepts. It would be ridiculous to argue *from that fact alone* that such a person had converted sexuality into religion. If, however, the use of sexual figures of speech is due to a sexual obsession arising mainly from conditions of the neuro-sexual mechanism and the states described as religious ecstasy are shown by psycho-analysis to be indistinguishable from sex-feeling; and if the sensual phrasing used is not a sex-figure descriptive of a non-sexual fact but rather a most literal description of a sex ecstasy which is called "religious" only because its true nature is sought to be concealed or is not understood; and if this condition is found to be generally true then perhaps religion is proven to be a sex ecstasy misinterpreted or perverted sexuality. But before we can pass a final and general judgment we must, with the aid of psycho-analysis, get behind the apparent facts. If then we find an identity of religious feeling and sexuality in practically all religious enthusiasts, we are warranted in believing that in a less conspicuous degree the same must be true also of those persons who are less intensely religious. Of course we must distinguish religious persons from those who have only a social habit of congregating with religious people or those who have a mere secular opinion about a religious subject-matter; that is those with whom religious opinions are wholly a matter of prior ratiocination based upon objectives. Then our general erotogenetic interpretation of religion will be strengthened if it shall be confirmed by other facts of religious history and psychology, and withstand generally all those tests which the scientific method would suggest.

The evidentiary value of such figurative language to the erotogenetic theory depends upon four other items. The first is the nature and source of the psychologic imperative which resulted in the choice of the figures used. Second, the indistinguishability of the author's religious experience from the psychologic imperative responsible for his choice of symbols. Third, the establishment of sex as the physical cause and es-

sence of the one and by virtue of their indistinguishability also as the causal essence of the other. Fourth, the checking of this conclusion by all the processes suggested by the scientific method. These I have outlined briefly in another place.¹⁶

Were a follower of James to reproduce these essential factors in relation to breathing and thus perfect the analogy we might then be compelled to admit with James that "one might as well interpret religion as a perversion of the respiratory function."

The theory of the erotogenesis of religion does not rest, as James assumes, upon the mere occasional conjunction of religion and sexuality. By psycho-analysis we can discover in the very nature of religion the psychologic imperative calling sexual images into existence, and this fact makes their existence one circumstance in a chain of evidence. The theory is not established by one piece of circumstantial evidence but by the probative force of all the evidence properly co-ordinated. Hence the erotogenetic theory of religion can not be discredited by merely pointing out the absurdity of some other conclusion which must depend solely upon a similar conjunction of facts. On some other occasion I will publish a study of the relation of sexual passion to respiration and the feeling of unreality. Then we may acquire some new light on Prof. James' notion that the respiratory similes in religious literature are necessarily non-sexual.

Continuing his refutation of the erotogenists, James adds this:

"The two main phenomena of religion, namely, melancholy and conversion, they will say are essentially phenomena of adolescence and therefore synchronous with the development of sexual life. To which the retort again is easy. Even were the asserted synchrony unrestrictedly true as a fact (which it is not) it is not only the sexual life but the entire higher mental life which awakens during adolescence. One might then as well set up the thesis that the interest in mechanics, physics, chemistry, logic, philosophy and sociology which springs up during adolescent years along with that in poetry and religion, is also a perversion of the sexual instinct:—but that would be too absurd. However, if the argument from synchrony is to decide, what is to be done with the fact that the religious age *par excellence* would seem to be old age, when the uproar of the sexual life is passed? . . . When other people criticise our more exalted soul-flights by calling them 'nothing but' expressions of our organic disposition, we feel outraged and hurt, for we know that, whatever be our organism's

peculiarities, our mental states have their substantive value as revelations of the living truth; and we wish that all this medical materialism could be made to hold its tongue."

It is disappointing to find one of Prof. James' standing complaining of the superficiality of others when in the very act of exposing his own. Of course, it would be as stupid to claim that a mere synchrony between sexual and religious awakening is sufficient to prove a causal relation between the two as it is "simple-minded" for Prof. James to assume that the relation of pubescence or adolescence to religion is *necessarily* the same as that between sexual awakening and the adolescent's interest in mechanics. Prof. James should have seen that the real question is whether religion is related to sexuality in an essentially different manner than is the adolescent's interest in chemistry or mechanics. A person less wedded to mysticism than Prof. James would have noted that the interest in religion and sensualism are both centered upon and primarily arise from within the organism in a way that is not true of the interest in mechanics. He should also have remembered that, unlike theology, a knowledge of mechanics has not generally been derived from inner consciousness and it is only as to sex that religion prolongs into mature life the extravagantly over-valued sacredness and sinfulness of youthful judgment. Religionists and adolescents apotheosize love. The devotion to mathematics does not bear any similar relation to adolescence. Special interest in religion, unlike mechanics, is an accompaniment of the nervous disturbances of the period of sexual decline. This then suggests that before passing final judgment we should carefully inquire whether these differences do not imply all that is claimed under the doctrine of the erotogenesis of religion. If Prof. James wished the medical materialists to hold their tongues, he should have silenced them by arguments showing a more searching inquiry on his part.

Is religion a mere outgrowth of sex-mystery, a mere misinterpretation of an unidentified, diffused sexecstasy dissociated from the normal accompaniment of sensual ideas, which ecstasy is deemed religious only because through perverse suggestion the sexual consciousness has been replaced by religious concepts? Evidently this can not be proven by merely showing religion to be an accompaniment of adolescence, nor disproven by showing that interest in mathematics also accompanies adole-

scence. How about art and music? As in religion, the first interest in them develops mainly during adolescence and it is believed by many that both persons of artistic temperament and those of religious temperament are peculiarly sensitive to lustful suggestion. Assuming that these suspicions are true, we can not yet draw the conclusion either that music or art are perverted sexuality or that religion is not such. Persons of artistic temperament are such because unusually sensitive to those emotions which art and music inspire. That there exists some physiological connection between sexual, artistic and religious emotions, few will deny. Physiologically viewed, all feelings are a mere nerve commotion. They can be differentiated only according to their origins and associated ideas. Because they are each but similar conditions of the same nervous organism, the originating and associated ideas are easily interchangeable. This accounts for the connection between sex and all other feeling. In all such cases the explanation is purely one of physiological connection.

But this does not get to the core of our problem which is to discover the essential nature of the psychic correlation, between lust and all religion. If a causal relation is found to exist between the two, it may be pertinent to inquire whether religion is ever a perverted sexuality, or whether religious "experience" is so related to one's own sex-activity as to be difficult or impossible without it. Here again we must explore deeper than has hitherto been done, into the psychic essence and the very reason for the existence of religion and its ecstasy. It would be interesting to know whether any one who had been made a eunuch before pubescence had ever "experienced" religious conversion and to study his "spiritual" experiences.

Our knowledge of physiology makes it possible to believe that art-emotion or any other may induce sex-emotions as a reflex action, just as does the excitement of battle. Likewise it is readily conceivable that a sex ecstasy induced by objective stimuli, may intensify an existing artistic emotion. It is difficult for me to see how a sex-feeling and the consciousness of it without anything more, could evolve into a non-religious artistic concept. But when, for the artistic concept, we substitute the so-called "transcendental," subjective and always personal religious elements, it is easy to see that by interpretation and objectivization a religious idea might result from adolescent

condition. In this respect the relation of adolescence to religion and art differs.

Prof. James once "heard a lady describe the pleasure it gave her to think that she could always cuddle up to God." (P. 81.) In determining the source of this figurative language we inquire first if there exists any such objective, sense-perceived resemblance in the relation of God and worshiper as should naturally suggest such figurative language. Since none such exists, we look for a subjective determinant. Here again there can scarcely be but one explanation. The love-relation of this woman and her God in the feelings which it implied or evoked, was so like the feelings formerly evoked by "cuddling up" to some male lover, as to compel expression of one in terms of the other, and quite automatically so and perhaps without consciousness of the reason for it or of its implications. This likeness of the two feelings is not, however, sufficient to wholly explain this choice of figurative language since there must be a cause for this figure having been chosen in preference to others equally descriptive of feelings more or less like the religious one. There can be only two explanations. Either the love of God had the most points of identity with that feeling derived from cuddling up to a male lover or the thought associated with it, or the craving for cuddling up to a man were so predominant in the mind of the woman as to compel this choice of similes in preference to all other possibilities. Thus analyzed, we again arrive by easy stages at the conclusion that in this instance, furnished by Prof. James, religious emotion and sex ecstasy are indistinguishable except in the interpretation which religious persons desired to have believed.

Neither can we allow Prof. James by a mere wave of his hand to wipe out our claim for the social utility of our thesis. If religion is but misinterpreted or perverted sexuality, its ideals of practical life need re-examination in order that we may see how far they are warped by perverted emotions or by the misinterpretation or supposed necessity for the concealment of intense sensuality. If my thesis be true, I think it can be shown that emotional religion is pernicious and all revival excitement conducive to injurious sexual irregularities and excesses. It may teach us that conventional "social purity" is but evidence of ignorance or erotophobia, or the sympathetic imitation of these, and in the leaders just as much a disease

as erotomania. Above all we will deny to moral sentimentalism its present super-rational sanctions and thus clear the ethical field of its perverted consciousness and prepare the field for a sane and scientific sexual morality which we have scarcely dared to contemplate as a possibility.

Now I believe I have shown that the arguments advanced by the opponents of the erotogenetic interpretation of religion either are side issues or upon closer analysis really support the theory. Furthermore, I have also briefly hinted at some points of social utility which may come from the discussion and with this I will close for the present.

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⁴ "Religion and Sensualism as Connected by Clergymen," *Amer. Jour. of Religious Psychology*, Vol. 3, p. 16.

⁵ "Erotogenesis of Religion," in *Alienist and Neurologist*, Vol. 28, Aug., 1907, p. 330.

⁶ See "Religious and Secular Distinguished," *The Arena*, Jan., 1908.

⁷ *Am. Journal of Religious Psychology*, Vol. 4, pp. 252-298.

⁸ *The Psychology of Religion*, p. 401.

⁹ Crawley, *The Tree of Life*, p. 272.

¹⁰ See Ribot, *The Evolution of General Ideas*.

¹¹ *The Psychology of Religious Experiences*, p. 220.

¹² *Psychological Phenomena of Christianity*, p. 432.

¹³ Fite, *Individualism*, p. 37; Haeckel, *The Evolution of Man*, p. 6.

¹⁴ *Varieties of Religious Experience*, pp. 12-13.

¹⁵ Dulaure, *Les Divinités Génératrices*, Paris, 1885, pp. 118-121, and 250. Also other histories of phallic worship.

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SOME ETHICAL PHASES OF ESKIMO CULTURE

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17. INHERITANCE

When we consider the small amount of property which an individual among the Eskimo can acquire, we realize that the question of *inheritance* is not a very important one in their economy. Another circumstance, which decreases the amount of transmissible property, is the custom of destroying or placing by the grave of a large part of the property of the deceased. Boas enumerates as objects which may be acquired by inheritance, the gun, harpoon, sledge, dogs, kayak, boat, and tent-poles of the man, and the lamps and pots of the woman. (5:580.)

The immediate heir is the oldest son living with the parents. Nothing falls directly to the widow, except the articles she brought in marriage. Adopted children are on the same footing as blood-descendants. Thus an elder foster-son has prior right over a young son born of the marriage. If there are no children in the family, a relative, such as a brother, becomes the heir. (53:25; 16,1:176.)

It should be borne in mind that, with the right of inheritance, goes the obligation of providing for the dependent survivors. So that, as Rink says, it "represents a question of obligations and burdens rather than of personal gain." (53:25.)

For rules of inheritance apparently peculiar to Alaska, see Nelson's monograph. (45.)

18. THEFT

From the nature of the case, private property being so limited, crimes "in violation of the rights of property can only have been trifling," as Rink points out. (53:34.) Conflicting reports are given as to Eskimo tendency to theft, especially in dealing with strangers.

It is the almost unanimous testimony that stealing is very

rare among members of the same community, and when it does occur, is condemned. Nansen says:

"The Eskimo regards it as in the highest degree dishonorable to steal from his housemates or from his fellow-villagers, and it is seldom that anything of the sort occurs." (43: 158.)

Hans Egede testifies that "they rarely steal from one another. Wherefore they let their goods lie exposed to everyone, without fear of anyone stealing or taking away the least bit of them. Indeed, this vice is so repulsive to them that if a girl steals, she thereby loses the chance of a good marriage." (19:69.) So too Crantz states, "They have no disposition to overreach each other, still less to steal, which is considered excessively disgraceful." (16.1:160.) Holm says that among the East Greenlanders, "theft is not uncommon," but adds that the causes are principally revenge or necessity. (30:87.) The report, given by other Eskimo to Hall, that the Nechilli "will steal whenever they can get a chance, even one Innu from another" (26:421) was a rumor of the same status as that told Stefánsson of a distant tribe's eating all strangers. (59.) Exceptional, indeed, if correctly reported, is the situation at Point Barrow, where "men, who were said to be thieves, did not appear to lose any social consideration." (42:41.) Among the nearby tribes studied by Nelson,

"stealing from people of the same village is regarded as wrong. The thief is shamed by being talked of in the kashim. An incorrigible thief is held and beaten on the back."

An effective insurance method is reported by Murdoch:

"Before starting for the deer the hunters generally take the movable property which they do not mean to carry with them out of the house and bury it in the snow for safe keeping, apparently thinking that while a dishonest person might help himself to small articles left around the house, he could hardly go to work and dig up a cache without attracting the attention of the neighbors." (42: 261.)

There appears to be truth in Nansen's statement that "the Eskimo's conception of his duties towards strangers, especially toward white people, is not quite so strict." (43:159.) "To steal from a stranger or from people of another tribe is not considered wrong so long as it does not bring trouble to the community," according to Nelson. (45:293; cf. 16.1:160; 19:69.) Cases of thieving are frequently reported in the literature.

(30:171, 176; 56:187; 4:389, 398; 1.1:174, 181; 2:60; 42:41; 19:136.)

The actions of the thieves when detected throw light on their feelings about the matter. Murdoch says "the thieves when detected seemed to have no feeling of shame." (42:41.) Still a certain shame, even if not sense of guilt, is not wanting. According to Holm, "their blushes always betrayed them," when interrogated about thefts. (30:177.) Amundsen says of some detected thieves that they "slunk away sheepishly." (1.1:282.) Others appear to regard the matter as a good joke. Beechey relates that when thefts were detected, the goods were immediately returned, "with a hearty laugh in addition." (4:395.) Similar behavior is common in natives who indulge in fraud in trading. Amundsen speaks of a man who "grinned all over his face with glee, at having, as he thought, so successfully tricked me." And when discovered, he "could not help laughing at his failure." (1.2:56.) A woman, "when she saw she was found out, burst out laughing heartily, all the rest joining in." (1.1:173.)

Again they try to throw off suspicion by friendly actions, or if convicted, to offer excuses. Some Eskimo were suspected of stealing flour from the Beechey expedition, and the suspicion was strengthened by their unusual and conciliatory conduct. Also they

"protested that they were innocent of the theft, and as proof that they could not possibly have committed it, they spat into the sea with disgust, in order to show how much they disliked the taste of the material, little considering that the fact of their knowing it to be nauseous was a proof of their having tasted it." (4: 389.)

An East Greenlander, who, in buying knives, took two, one on top of the other, assured Holm that it had happened by mistake "as the knives were so thin." Later he confessed that a neighbor had whispered to him to act thus, "for it would not be discovered." (30:177.) A woman told Paul Egede that she had stolen a knife from a ship; but she became dizzy, as a result of her act she thought, and went back and put the knife where she had taken it. Another Eskimo interjected that he had stolen many times from the Dutch and had always felt well afterwards. But then he "did not think God cared for the Dutch, nor they for him; they did not say grace at

meals as the Danish missionaries did, nor had they morning and evening prayer. (19:98.)

We are told by Murdoch that

"there was seldom any difficulty in obtaining restitution of stolen articles, as the thief's comrades would not attempt to shield him, but often voluntarily betrayed him." (42: 41.)

According to Holm, they informed about each other for fear of themselves being apprehended. Some sought reward for acting as informers. "When a man was accused of stealing, the first question was always who had reported him." (30: 177.) This is significant as indicating that, while stealing from foreigners may not be condemned among them, on the other hand the thief acts only in his individual capacity at his own risk, not being able to claim the support or protection of his fellows.

There is evidence to show that this thieving habit is far from universal. Murdoch says there were many who resisted the temptation to steal. Other writers too speak very highly of some natives, even whole tribes. Amundsen found the Nechilli very trustworthy in this respect. He placed his depôt under their care. (1.1:281.) Beechey speaks of one group as "exceedingly honest." (4:378; cf. 391.) Cartwright, after sixteen years among the Eskimo of Labrador, goes on record that "there is not a nation under the sun, with which I would sooner trust my person and property." (12.)

Still, it is doubtless true that a certain double standard with respect to the appropriation of men's goods is found among the Eskimo. One cause is probably to be found in one phase of their "ethnocentrism." Says Nansen:

"We must remember that a foreigner is to him an indifferent object; it matters little to him whether he can rely on the foreigner or not, since he has not got to live with him. Thus he does not always find it inconsistent with his interests to appropriate a little of the foreigner's property, if he thinks it can be of use to him." (43: 159.)

Another consideration which enters in to determine their actions is the treatment the Eskimo, like other primitive peoples have been subjected to by representatives of "civilization." A rehearsal of the records of injustice, robbery and fraud perpetrated on the Eskimo alone would stretch this discussion to unwarranted length; besides it would not be a discussion of

ESKIMO morality. For a few cases, see 43:159-161. To quote just one sentence from this authority:

"Let us suppose that it had been the Eskimo who came and planted themselves upon our shores, and behaved as we did in Greenland—would it then have been altogether inconsistent with our moral code to rob and filch from them whatever we could?" (43:160.)

One suspects that past experience has something to do with such behavior as that described by Beechey. Notwithstanding good treatment by his expedition, the Eskimo required

"much persuasion to induce them to come upon the deck, and even when some of them were prevailed upon to do so, they took the precaution of leaving with their comrades in the boat every valuable article which they had about their persons." (4:402.)

Then, a third, and it may well be the most important reason, may be found in the state of the property-sense and property-order among the Eskimo, a subject we have just discussed. With our insanely overwrought sense of the "sanctity" and "rights" of property, it is difficult to realize the Eskimo point of view. Their economic system is based on a practical application of the idea of the absolute subordination of material means to human and social ends. We have noted the principle on which they place restrictions on possession of unnecessary wealth. Now, as Nansen points out,

"it must be taken into account that in comparison with the Eskimo the Europeans possess property in superabundance. According to Eskimo morality, therefore, it appears that we ought to be able to dispense with some of our superfluity, and if we decline to do so, we are miserly and selfish." (43:160.)

19. BEGGING

We will mention briefly another practice, namely begging. Explorers frequently complain of this among the Eskimo. It is practically certain, however, that this is due to contact with the whites. According to Nelson, "begging is common only among Eskimo who have had considerable intercourse with white men." People not accustomed to meeting white men he found little addicted to it, and "their manner usually more frank and attractive." (45:295.) He believes that this habit has come about through indiscriminate giving of presents. This view agrees exactly with the experience and opinion of Stefánsson. He found no begging among the Eskimo he discov-

ered. He relates that, at one place, he made a present of one needle to each of over two score married women.

"Of course I kept no books, but I feel certain that every one of these women brought me something with which to pay for the needle, most of them saying that they did not want me to think that they were people who accepted gifts." (58:200.)

In Alaska he found just the opposite condition.

20. GAMBLING

According to Boas, "In winter gambling is one of the favorite amusements of the Eskimo." (5:567.) He describes a game of chance which looks innocent enough. (5:569.) Murdoch reports "only one game which appears to be of the nature of gambling"; it is "a very popular amusement." (42:364.) Certain Alaskan natives are described by Holmberg as "passionate gamblers." It is "not rare for them to lose all their belongings in this way." (32:123.) In the Ungava district, it is said that

"gambling is carried on to such a degree among both sexes that even their own lives are staked upon the issue of a game. The winner often obtains the wife of his opponent, and holds her until some tempting offer is made for her return. The only article they possess is frequently wagered, and when they lose they are greeted with derision. The women especially, stake their only garments rather than be without an opportunity to play." (66:178.)

The methods, and probably the extent, of gambling have been influenced by the white men. (See 66:178; 42:364.) Peary found no gambling among the Eskimo with whom he came in contact. (48:47.)

21. MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE

As we have already noted, the Eskimo have no clan organization. The selection of conjugal partners is restricted only by certain degree of kinship. First cousins are prohibited from intermarrying. (19:79; 16.1:147; 43:175; 5:579; 6:158.) The same prohibition seems to apply to a boy and girl who have been reared in the same family, they being regarded practically as brother and sister. An exception to the latter rule is noted from East Greenland. (30:94.) Waldmann says that in Labrador marriage was often contracted between first cousins. (69:435.) There are also traces of prohibition of marriage

between legal relatives. Thus, Crantz says that rarely did a man marry two sisters or a mother and her daughter; "such a contract draws down general odium upon the parties concerned." (16.1:147; 30:95.) On the other hand, Boas found no rule against a man's marrying two sisters among the Central Eskimo. (5:579.) Folk-lore tells of troubles resulting from efforts to marry sister-in-law and daughter-in-law, but it is doubtful whether the relationship of the parties plays any part in the narrator's mind. (53:397; 6:286.)

Nansen says that, in Greenland, "a man should, if possible, seek his wife in another village." (43:175.) Neither descriptions nor folk-lore give the impression that this is any widespread rule. The close kinship of fellow-villagers may lead to such conditions. Turner speaks of a group in which, although the females outnumber the males, the relationship is so close that many seek their wives from other localities." (66:189.)

There are frequent references in folk-lore to marriages within the prohibited degrees. This does not imply a similar frequency in real life. The contrary seems to be true. The most prominent incest-motive in Eskimo mythology is the story of the origin of the sun and moon. A man had sexual relations with his sister, who blackened his face with soot. He pursued her into the sky, where she became the sun, and he, with the sooty face, the moon. (20:54; 63:275; 6:173; 37:179; 30:99; 31:268.) A Cumberland Sound tale relates how a man was hated because he cohabited with his mother; he was killed by his brother (6:283); similar, with foster-mother (6:297). In a Greenland tale, a couple thought that the cause of their children's dying was "perhaps we are too near kin." (53:391.) Turner reports a case where a son took his mother for wife, apparently at her wish, but "the sentiment of the community compelled him to discard her." (66:180.)

Necessity appears to be an extenuating circumstance. The natives of Southampton Island ascribe their ancestry to a man, who was driven to the island, where he married his daughter; "the people are the descendants of this couple." (6:478.) According to a Greenland tradition, a man married his adopted sister; for they lived alone. (53:170.) A somewhat different situation was that of the giant who married his sister, "because she was the only woman tall enough for him." (6:292.) No

credence can be given Langsdorff's statement that certain Alaskan Eskimo "cohabit promiscuously, brothers and sisters, parents and children" (quoted 2.1:81), except that he may have heard of some cases.

A practice which seems to have been prevalent among the Eskimo is *child-betrothal*, decided by agreement of the parents. (53:23; 16.1:146; 42:410; 47:26; 25:567.) This may even go so far that "two friends, desirous of cementing their tie of fellowship, engage that their children yet unborn shall be mated." (66:188.) However, "these engagements not being strictly binding, may be broken off at any time." (5:578; cf. 48:60.) In some cases one of the parties may be an adult, the other a mere child, the arrangements being made by the latter's parents. (42:410; 1.1:307.)

Early marriages are the rule. (30:94; 69:434; 43:139; 42:411; 66:188.) Marriage may take place even before puberty. Holm says that in East Greenland it is not rare that young people marry three or four times before that age. Crantz' statement that "a man seldom thinks of marriage till he is twenty years of age" (16.1:145) does not seem to hold. The requisite qualification for the male is that he is a sufficiently able hunter to provide for the female, and "has the requisite strength to force her to become his wife," as Turner adds. She must be proficient in the arts which pertain to woman. (66:188; 43:138; 30:94; 42:410.)

As to the motives for marriage, Murdoch writes, "As far as we could learn, marriage was entered upon generally from reasons of interest or convenience, with very little regard for affection, as we understand it." He acknowledges, however, that "there were some indications that real love matches sometimes took place." (42:410; see also 16.1:145; 30:94.) The denial of the possession by primitive peoples of what is called "romantic love" is a favorite proposition with some writers, as for instance, Finck. But folk-lore and real life furnish evidence of its presence among the Eskimo. (5:615; 31:320.) Nansen's words are well chosen:

"Love is by no means unknown in Greenland; but the Greenland variety of it is a simple impulse of nature. It does not make the lover sick of soul, but drives him to the sea, to the chase; it strengthens his arm and sharpens his sight; for his one desire is to become an expert hunter, so that he can lead his Naia home as his bride, and support a family." (43: 138.)

Worthy of being noted here is a romance revealed by Peary's words (48:52):

"Hot-hearted young Ooqueah of my North Pole party fought his way with me to the goal for the possession of the daughter of old Ikway. This young knight of the northland is an illustration of the fact that sometimes an Eskimo man or woman may be as intense in his or her affairs of the heart as we are."

The usual principals in the preliminaries of marriage are the prospective bridegroom and the young woman's parents, or, if they are dead, her brothers. The advice of the man's parents is also given consideration. (19:79; 69:434; 53:397; 30:94; 16.1:145.) The services of mediators are sometimes enlisted in winning the desired maiden. (53:23; 69:434; 16.1:145.) Probably the employment of these third parties is not at all common. The dashing young Eskimo hunter ordinarily prefers to do his own wooing. In a folk tale we are told that the reason a youth sent a mediator was that he was "bashful and afraid to speak for himself." (5:615.)

There does not appear to be any regular system of purchase-money or of dowry, though traces of both are found. Holm says that "the young man must sometimes pay the father to get his daughter in marriage," but also, "good hunters are paid by fathers to marry their daughters." (30:96; cf. 55:188; 43:135.) A young man, who did not possess the necessary wherewithal to indemnify the parents secured the girl on credit, and "he owes them still," remarks Waldmann, who relates the case. (69:434.) It is customary for the woman to bring with her certain household utensils, besides her clothing. These things remain her own property. (16.1:145; 53:24; 42:414.)

Rink's view that marriage was rarely consummated "without some degree of force having been practiced upon the bride" (53:23; cf. 43:139) seems to be well substantiated, though there are undoubtedly not a few exceptions. Wife-capture is a favorite theme in folk-lore. (52:323, 450, 453.) The abduction may be without the knowledge and consent of the girl's parents. (1.146.) But ordinarily the marriage has been duly arranged, and the only resistant is the bride-elect. (16.2:105; 20:28; 42:412.) While to all appearances, the abduction is much against the girl's will, it seems that appearances are in this case often deceptive. Crantz says that, on hearing the proposal,

"the damsel directly falls into the greatest apparent consternation, for single women always affect the utmost bashfulness and aversion to any proposal of marriage, lest they should lose their reputation for modesty, though their destined husbands be previously well assured of their acquiescence." (16, 1: 146; cf. 19: 79.)

Paul Egede tells of a bride who ran away from the man's house several times, always, however, "where she expected to be found." (20:28.) Nansen's comment on this custom is interesting:

"In Greenland, as in other parts of the world, good taste demanded that the lady in question should on no account let it appear that she was a consenting party, however favorably disposed towards her wooer she might be in her heart. The Eskimo bride was bound to struggle against her captor, and to wail and bemoan herself as much as ever she could. When they first saw marriages conducted after the European fashion, they thought it very shocking that the bride, when asked if she would have the bridegroom for her husband, should answer Yes. According to their ideas, it would be much more becoming for her to answer No. When assured that this was the custom among us, they were of the opinion that our women must be devoid of modesty." (43: 140.)

However, "it sometimes happens that the young woman really objects to her wooer." (43:141.) In such cases, she either has her way (16.1:146) or she is taken against her will, when she may give the man visible remembrances of a strenuous fight. (66:181.)

More informal ways (for forcible abduction is "good form") obtain, however, in which the young people decide the matter between themselves (53:263, 406) Crantz' assertion that a woman "can never make choice of a husband" (16.1:159) must admit of exceptions. There are several instances on record where the girl has a definite choice in the matter (66: 188; 50:55; 53:208.) One of Cartwright's experiences shows that independence of spirit and action is not entirely wanting among Eskimo women. A man arranged with this English gentleman to give the latter one of his wives, a young woman of sixteen. All her relatives "expressed great pleasure at the honor of the alliance." But the woman thought otherwise. "You are an old fellow and I will have nothing to say to you," was her verdict. "So there ended my courtship," remarks the author. Like independence was shown by a widow who, according to a tale, "greatly harassed by the persecutions of a man who wanted to marry her, fled to the inland with

her little son, whom she educated with the view of making him a hater of the male sex." (53:462.)

It happens that a suitor encounters not only the objections of the girl or her parents or both, but also those of rivals. Peary reports that

"if two men want to marry the same woman, they settle the question by a trial of strength, and the better man has his way. These struggles are not fights, as the disputants are amiable."

Another method is reported by Boas (6:466); the woman is made to stand in the center of a hut, where the older people assemble, and the several suitors try to get possession of her, the strongest being allowed to marry her. "In one of these cases, two men struggled for a woman, and when they were tired out, a third man rushed in and carried her off." This custom is known also among the neighboring Athapascan Indians. A gentler method was that adopted by two Greenlanders who agreed to make the test a kayak race. (53:170.)

Marriage ceremonies seem to be almost unknown among the Eskimo. Rink's statement that "the wedding was performed without any special ceremony" appears to indicate the general rule. Hans Egede states that "well-to-do parents have a feast for their son's wedding." (19:80.) Murdoch reports a celebration in the home of the bride's parents. (42:411.) Bancroft does not give the authority for a description of an Alaskan marriage ceremonial. (2.1:83.) Hans Egede states that there was also a feast "the day after the bridegroom slept with the bride." (19:80.) This suggests a postponement of the consummation of the marriage. Light may perhaps be cast on this obscure passage by a remark by Paul Egede that a day or two should, according to custom, elapse after the bride had been brought to the man's house. (20:28.) These are the only references I have found to any such custom among the Eskimo. This people are singularly free from sexual rites and taboos, of the sort which fill Crawley's volume, *The Mystic Rose*. Evidence from Eskimo society tends to support Westermarck's very moderately expressed opinion that Crawley has "somewhat exaggerated" the danger attributed to sexual intercourse. (71.2:415.) Murdoch well states the Eskimo conception of marriage as far as its social relations are concerned: "The marriage bond was regarded simply as a contract entered into

by agreement of the contracting parties." (42:411.) The absence of ceremonial reflects this attitude of non-interference by the group.

The prevailing form of marriage is *monogamy*, but *polygamy* and even *polyandry* are allowed and practiced. (6:115, 466; 5:579; 50:65; 33:41; 16.1:147; 45:292; 19:77; 66:188; 63:276; 53:23; 43:145; 30:95; 42:411.) Polygamy is conditioned on a man's possession of sufficient wealth to support more than one wife; hence it is possible only for the ablest hunters. Thus it may be regarded as a mark of honor. Another condition influencing the form of marriage is the numerical ratio between the sexes in any given group. Thus, among the Polar Eskimo, polygamy is very rare, as there are more men than women. (50:65; cf. 30:96.) Another factor to be taken into account is the custom of the man's becoming a member of his wife's family. As Boas points out, this would serve as a check to polygamy. "It is only when the new family settles on its own account that a man is at full liberty to take additional wives." (5:579; cf. 42:410.) This custom is not universal, nor even usual, as far as our evidence tends to show. It appears to be more common for the young couple to live with the husband's parents. (See *e. g.*, 6:115.) When free from obligations to support relatives, the couple ordinarily maintain separate households.

Among the motives for polygamy, the desire for offspring plays the most important rôle, although Rink's statement that polygamy was "only approved by public opinion in so far as it aimed at the propagation of male descendants" is to be regarded as too sweeping. He makes the same assertion in regard to divorce and wife-exchanging, in which cases the exceptions to the rule he lays down are even more numerous. (53:23.) But we can accept Crantz' statement that

"since it is esteemed a disgrace to have no children, and especially no son to support their declining age, such childless Greenlanders as are competent to maintain several wives, will seldom restrict themselves to one." (16. 1: 147; cf. 30: 97.)

Relief from further child-bearing on the part of the first wife may also be a desideratum. A woman, on being asked why her husband had taken another wife, replied, "I asked him to myself, for I'm tired of bearing children." (43:144; cf. 16.1:147.)

Another motive is desire for additional help in the female branch of the domestic economy. Thus we are told of a man who "married a young wife, so as to have somebody at home to do the work," his first wife being old and feeble. (33:41.) The wife herself sometimes suggests the second marriage, in order that she may have help in her household work." (43:144; cf. 55:189; 30:95.)

Hans Egede found, what he considered remarkable, that, before the preaching of the missionaries, there was no jealousy connected with the plural marriages. (19:78.) There are cases, however, where the women regard each other as rivals. (30:103; 63:276.) But as a rule they get along well together.

The first wife retains a primacy in the direction of the household. (19:78; 69:435; 53:25; 16.1:148.) This is true even if the husband shows a preference for the second. (43:145.)

Divorce is unrestricted, and as uncereemonious as is the contracting of marriage. The causes of separation are legion, in fact, anything which either party may regard as sufficient. In this respect, wives are as free to suit themselves as are husbands. According to Peary, what he calls "trial marriage," is

"an ineradicable custom among the Eskimo. If a young man and woman are not suited with each other they try again, and sometimes several times, but when they find mates to whom they are adapted, the arrangement is generally permanent. . . . If a man grows tired of his wife, he simply tells her there is not room for her in the igloo. She may return to her parents, if they are living; she may go to a brother or a sister; or she may send word to some man in the tribe that she is now at liberty and willing to start life again." (48:59.)

Murdoch says that marriage is easily dissolved, "on account of incompatibility of temper, or even on account of temporary disagreement." One wife was discarded because of "a disagreeable and querulous temper." The husband married another woman, but "his second matrimonial venture was no more successful than his first, for his young wife proved to be a great talker." He said "she talked all the time, so that he could not eat and could not sleep." So he sent her away, and tried his luck a third time. Another man, who had two wives, divorced the younger one. "The reason he assigned was that she was lazy, would not make her own clothes, and was disobedient to the older wife to whom he was much attached."

(42:411; cf. 45:392; 5:579.) Crantz writes that the husband only gives an undesirable wife a sour look, and then absents himself for a few days.

"She immediately takes the hint, packs up her effects, and withdraws to her relatives, demeaning herself in the future, as discreetly as possible, in order to chagrin him, and bring scandal upon his conduct." (16, 1: 147; cf. 43: 143.)

Desire for children, which we have seen to be perhaps the chief reason for polygamy, is also a potent cause of divorce. Crantz says that a childless wife lives "in continual dread of divorce" (16.1:151), while

"it rarely happens that a separation takes place when they have children, and especially sons, who are their greatest treasure, and best security against future want." (16, 1: 148.)

Holm says that in East Greenland, disagreements between married people are usually settled without rupture of the marriage relation,

"especially if the woman has children. If she has no children it is not infrequent that the woman or the man, when opportunity offers, leaves without saying anything." (30: 97.)

The author just quoted enumerates an interesting and representative list of grounds for divorce, including the following: They had tired of each other, the wife was a poor seamstress, the wife wanted to live where her family lived, her husband's family neglected her. One man gave as his reason that "she ate so much that he didn't get enough to eat." (30:100.) As illustrating the frequency of divorce in some cases, he mentions one woman, twenty years old, who had had six husbands, and had just married the seventh. (30:101.) Another, after having tried eight husbands, remarried No. 6, whom she pronounced "the best of her husbands"; although he had struck and whipped her, "she longed so for him that she couldn't sleep at night." (30:103.)

Folk-lore, in this feature as in all others, truthfully reflects Eskimo life. Characteristic is the tale of a man who separated from three wives, with each of whom he lived only a month or two. Two of these he had divorced "because they didn't keep his boots in order." (31:329; see also 53:255, 303.) Boas records a tale, indicating that ideas of "emancipated women" are not unknown among the Eskimo. (5:628.)

Two women deserted their husbands, with whom they quarreled, and went to live by themselves. The husbands' wishing their wives back again, sent the women's fathers after them. But these found the women unwilling to return. The men "told the strange story that two women without the company of any men lived all by themselves, and were never in want."

It appears that primitive Enoch Ardens are to be found among the Eskimo. This theme is also dealt with in folk-lore.

In one tale, the first husbands return to find their wives married to other men. The women are given back to the former, who say to the second husbands, "Many thanks to you that ye have provided so well for our relatives." Certainly a philosophic attitude. (53:196; see also 31:298.)

Similar tactics to those pursued when two men wanted the same girl, seem to be resorted to if a man wants another's wife. Peary tells us that the former simply says to the husband, "I am the better man," and the husband has then either to prove his superiority in strength or surrender the woman. (48:59.) So also Nansen says, "If a man takes a fancy to another man's wife, he takes her without ceremony, if he happens to be the stronger." (43:143; cf. 30:96; 31:330; 20:65.) Sometimes a wife is carried away by another man, at the request of her family, that she may get better support. (30:100.) Cartwright gives an account, perhaps somewhat overdrawn, of a bloody struggle resulting from an affair of this kind. (12:328.) Nelson states that formerly, at Bering Strait, the husband and his rival were "disarmed by the neighbors and then settled the trouble with their fists or by wrestling, the victor taking the woman." (49:292.) More subtle methods may be pursued. According to Turner, a man may bribe an angakok to get a woman from her husband "under threats of supernatural evil." (66:189.) Designing women are not above pursuing similar tactics to get husbands away from their wives. (55:189.)

22. EXTRA-NUPTIAL RELATIONS

Many writers speak of the freedom enjoyed by the unmarried of both sexes among the Eskimo. For instance, Murdoch writes as follows:

"As to the relations between the sexes there seems to be the most complete absence of what we consider moral feelings. Promiscuous sexual intercourse between married and unmarried people, or even among children, appears to be looked upon simply as a matter for amusement. As

far as we could learn, unchastity in a girl was considered nothing against her." (42: 419.)

Turner says:

"Many of the girls bear children before they are taken for wives, but as such incidents do not destroy the respectability of the mother, the girl does not experience any difficulty in procuring a husband. (66: 189; see also 30: 96; 45: 292.)

On the other hand, Hans Egede, who was certainly not wanting in strictness as to the seventh commandment, says of the Greenlanders of his day (he was the first white man to live among them in modern times):

"Young women and girls are modest enough, as we have never seen them have any wanton relations with young men, or give the least indication of such conduct, either in word or deed. During the fifteen years I was in Greenland I knew of only two or three girls who became pregnant outside of marriage; for this is held to be a great disgrace." (19: 78.)

Dalager, an early authority, says of Eskimo girls that "in their first years of maturity they bear themselves very chastely, for otherwise they are certain to spoil their chances of marriage." (Quoted 43:167.) Of the Greenlanders in general he says that they are not so much given to incontinence as are other nations. It may be noted that Nansen accepts the above testimony of these two authorities, as substantially accurate. Crantz says, in one place, that

"however careful their young and single people may be to avoid all open irregularity in their deportment, they are in secret quite as licentious as those of other nations" (16. 1: 175),

but in another place he writes that

"the women are seldom guilty of incontinence, with the exception of young widows and those divorced from their husbands. Single persons of both sexes have rarely any connections." (16. 1: 145.)

The authority last quoted states that "there are among them harlots by profession, though a single woman will seldom follow this infamous trade." (16.1:176.) No matter what may be the exact condition of sexual morality in general, it is fairly certain that prostitution, when found among the Eskimo, is attributable to foreign influence. If Crantz' observation is correct, the cases he refers to may well have been due to contact with traders. Murdoch states that prostitution "is carried to

a most shameless extent with the sailors of the whaling fleet by many of the women" (46:420, cf. 54; also 1.1:202, 310), but among the natives themselves, "prostitution for gain is unknown." (*Ibid.*) Of the natives of Labrador we are told by Waldmann that "since they have been in contact with the fisherman, there has been a relaxation of their morals." (69:435.) Nansen discusses at length the effect in this regard of European occupation of West Greenland, which he regards as decidedly detrimental, in spite of the efforts of the missionaries. (43:163.) He says a young native woman "positively glories" in illicit relations with a European, and "seems to procure additional consideration among her female friends." Trebitsch received just the opposite impression, namely, that "girls who cohabit with Europeans are derided by the natives." (65:50.) He gives samples of satirical songs about such girls. He also believes that "prostitution is unknown in all Greenland." (65:16.)

Without attempting to resolve the contradictions in the evidence, I think we can conclude as true of the Eskimo in general, what Murdoch declares concerning the natives of Point Barrow, that while their sexual laxity "seems too purely animal and natural to be of recent growth," and hence can hardly be said to have been *introduced* by the whites (Holm's statement about the East Greenlanders is of special importance on this point, 30:96), yet this laxity has undoubtedly been encouraged by the whites, and, finally, these "taught them prostitution for gain." (42:420.)

There is more agreement of observers as to the extra-nuptial intercourse of married people than as to the sexual relations of the unmarried. To quote Nansen:

"The strict morality which obtained among the unmarried youths and maidens on the west coast in the heathen days [he follows Hans Egede, quoted above], seems to have been considerably relaxed when once they were married. The men, at any rate, had then the most unrestricted freedom." (43: 167.)

According to Crantz, "the married will break their vows on both sides with the utmost shamelessness." (16.1:176.) One restriction to unlimited license is found in the objections of the husband of the woman in the case, when his consent has not been given. Nansen is of the opinion that if a heathen—and in many cases, even a Christian—Greenlander

"refrains from having to do with another man's wife, whom he has looked upon with favor, it is generally more because he shrinks from quarreling with the husband than because he regards adultery as morally wrong." (43:172; to the same effect, 69:436.)

Jealousy, in the male, at least, is not unknown. (66:178, 188; 30:97; 5:579.) Holm gives as an illustration of this a man who became jealous because his young wife smiled at a member of the expedition. Sometimes "the injured husband does not seek immediate punishment, but smothers his resentment, till he has an opportunity of revenging himself in a similar manner." Nelson says that the husband "rarely avenges himself on the man concerned," although the affair may form the excuse for an affray where there has been previous enmity. He may beat the unfaithful wife. (45:292, cf. 16.1:147.) The extreme penalty is given in a tale entitled "The Faithless Wife," in which the woman, who by stealth has had illicit relations, is killed. (53:143; cf. 6:224.) According to Turner, "the male offender if notoriously persistent in his efforts to obtain forbidden favors, is usually slain." (66:178.) The wives are allowed greater liberty "when they have no children by their husbands," says Paul Egede. (20:135.)

It must not be understood that this sexual license is universally indulged in. Nansen, after picturing the present-day laxity which he finds, says of the married Greenlanders that "their every-day behavior is, as a rule, quite reputable and void of offence; on that point all travellers must agree." (43:172.) Even Crantz admits that, after all, "their connubial intercourse is conducted with tolerable decorum." (16.1:147; see also 42:420.) A saying current in East Greenland, that "the whale, the musk-ox, and the reindeer left the country because the men had too much to do with other men's wives," suggests a belief that indulgence in that way is not quite right. Some of the men, however, declared it was "because the women were jealous of their husbands." (30:100.)

A custom found among the Eskimo everywhere is the exchanging and lending of wives. (5:579; 6:225; 66:189; 48:60; 42:413; 43:148, 169; 69:435; 26:424.)

The exchange is often a sign of friendship. Thus, at Bering Strait, where it is common for two men in different villages to become bond-fellows or brothers by adoption, one of them,

when received as guest by the other, is given the use of his host's bed with the wife during his stay. When the visit is returned, the same favor is extended; as a consequence "neither family knows who is the father of the children." (45:292; see also 5:579; 42:413.)

Sometimes this expression of good-will is connected with decided practical advantage. Thus, to quote Rasmussen,

"if a man has to go away on a long hunting expedition, and he wants a woman with him, he can, if his own wife, for instance on account of pregnancy, is unfitted to endure the hardships of an expedition by sledge, lend her to a man who is remaining, and in return receives his."

Also

"if a young wife is homesick for friends and family who live a long way off, if her husband is willing to humor her, but does not himself wish to undertake the journey, a man fond of travelling will often announce himself as agreeable to take the other on her visit, leaving his own wife as hostage." (50:64.)

Murdoch reports a similar case where a man, on going on a hunting expedition, borrowed his cousin's wife, "as she was a good shot, and a good hand at deer hunting," while his own wife went with the other man on a trading expedition. (42:413.)

A temporary exchange is sometimes made permanent. (43:148.) Murdoch gives as the reason that "the couples find themselves better pleased with their new mates than with the former association." Another reason, given by Holm, is that, since the men at the same time exchange various things besides wives, they "do not wish to part with the things they have come into possession of." (30:98.) But there may be also a quite different effect. "When marriage is disturbed, the man often exchanges his wife for an indefinite period," says Rasmussen, "It is asserted that the two are soon anxious to be together again, for a man generally discovers that his own wife is in spite of all the best." (50:64.)

Hans Egede describes a remarkable "game" found among the Eskimo of West Greenland, for which "married men and women come together, as to an assembly." After feasting, singing, and dancing, every man retired with some other man's wife. "They are held as examples of the best and noblest disposition who without chagrin, lend their wives to others."

While "married people see in it nothing to be ashamed of, the young and unmarried are forbidden by modesty to take part." (19:78.) Dalager states that this performance is of very rare occurrence and adds that "a married woman who has duly become a mother of a family never takes part in it." (Quoted 43:168.) A similar "lamp-extinguishing game" is found in East Greenland; it is played in the winter when the people live in the large communal houses." A good host always has the lamps put out at night when there are guests in the house." In this game, unlike the one described by Egede, unmarried people also take part. But, according to Holm, the same limitations as to kinship are in force as with regard to contracting marriage. (30:98.) One man claimed he did not participate in this game, for if he did, he would have to reciprocate when he had guests, and he did not like to have other men have intercourse with his wife. The neighbors denied this story. It may have been a fabrication with the purpose of appearing righteous in the eyes of the Europeans according to their standards. (30:99.)

Murdoch reports that, among some Eskimo on Repulse Bay, there is said to be, at certain times, "a general exchange of wives throughout the village, each woman passing from man to man till she has been through the hands of all, and finally returns to her husband." He gives as his informants "some of the whalemens who winter in the neighborhood." The character both of the story and the tellers make us look with suspicion, or at least caution, on such a statement.

In passing, we may refer to Murdoch's opinion that these wife-exchanging customs "seem to indicate that the Eskimo have not wholly emerged from the state called communal marriage, in which each woman is considered as the wife of every man in the community." Since Westermarck published his epoch-making argument against the theory of primitive promiscuity, we are not so inclined to this interpretation, which, it should be said, was a prevailing doctrine when Murdoch wrote the above.

We have noted that one of the principal causes of polygamy and divorce is desire for offspring. This appears to be a prominent motive in exchanging and lending of wives also. True to life is a tale in which the wives of two housemates could not get children. Therefore, they exchanged wives for

a time; whereupon both wives became pregnant and bore sons. (30:263.) Supernatural agencies may be employed in this connection. Thus in case of barrenness an angakok may take a trip to the moon, whence a child is thrown down to the woman, who thereupon becomes pregnant. "After this difficult journey, the angakok has the right to sleep with the woman"—a curious transposition of time-relations. (30:131.) The angakoks can bring about pregnancy, however, without such magical flights. (53:148.) According to Hans Egede, women regard it as an honor to cohabit with an angakok. Also

"Many husbands even regard this with favor, and will even pay the angakoks to lie with their wives, particularly if they themselves cannot get children by them; for they believe that a child begotten of an angakok will be more capable and fortunate above others." (19:78.)

Paul Egede, however, found that some Eskimo regarded this procedure as indecent (20:135), Klutschak alone refers to the angakoks' having "*jus primae noctis*." This lone instance may be due to misinformation, or misinterpretation of some other event.

The angakoks sometimes, by order of their tornaks, command other men to exchange wives with each other. (5:579; 6:158; 26:101; 66:179.) "The women must spend the night in the huts of the men to whom they are assigned. If any woman refuses to go, she would be sure to be taken sick." (6:158; from Hudson Bay; at Smith Sound it is the men who exchange sleeping-places, 50:64).

Rasmussen writes, "It sometimes happens that a woman will refuse with tears to be exchanged, but this is rare. Then the husband beats her as a punishment." (Other women may take the leading part in forcing a reluctant wife to yield. See 26:102.) "These conditions," he continues, "give rise to curious ethical ideas among the Eskimo. A man once told me that he only beat his wife when she would not receive other men. She would have nothing to do with anyone but him—and that was her only failing." (50:65.)

After these considerations, we will probably regard Amundsen as unnecessarily hard on his own race when he finds in a host's offer of the loan of his wife "another striking proof of the fact that this tribe had been in contact with 'civilized' men." (1.1:293.)

In considering the phases of Eskimo morality brought out in the foregoing, the following comment by Nansen is worth noting:

"We should beware how we fix ourselves at one point of view, and unsparingly condemn ideas and practices which the experience of many generations has developed among another people, however much they may conflict with our own. There may be underlying reasons which do not at once meet the eye, and which place the whole matter in a different light. . . . Their way of thinking in these matters is less ideal and more practical than ours, and their point of view entirely different. Their habit of exchanging wives, for example, and their treatment of barren women, seems to us wanton and immoral; but when we remember that the production of offspring is the great end and aim of their conduct, and reflect what an all-important matter this is for them, we may perhaps pass a somewhat milder judgment."

He remarks that to the Eskimo the exhortation to increase and multiply seems to be of greater weight than the prohibition of the seventh commandment. And he adds a very important suggestion, "The reason may partly be that his race is by nature unprolific." (43:169 sq.)

Homosexual practices have been reported by several writers on the Eskimo. It has been rather prominently noted among the extreme western tribes. (For details see 32:120; 56:173, 176; 2.1:82.) It is almost entirely confined to males who play the rôle of the opposite sex. No cases have been reported from other sections. Some references in folk-lore may, however, be of significance. A tale from Cumberland Sound tells of a woman who transformed herself into a man and married her adopted daughter. (6:248.) In another from the same region, one man took another for wife. (6:325.) Still a third, from Greenland, deals with a woman who disguised herself as a man, and took her daughter-in-law for wife. Her son killed his "despicable mother." (53.)

23. POSITION AND TREATMENT OF WOMEN

Several writers speak of the Eskimo women as the "property" of their husbands (48:60; 43:121, 147; 50:62); others of their life as one of "slavery." (2.1:65; 16.1:151.) But such expressions cannot be taken in a literal or legalistic sense. Indeed, some of the authors referred to above would be among the first to deny implications which such statements might convey.

We have already shown that in the matter of contracting marriage, the choice or consent of the female is not an altogether unknown factor. As to divorce, her rights are the same as those of the man. The personal property she brings with her at marriage remains hers inviolate during and after the union.

As to the husband's power over her person, Rink says "the husband had the right of punishing his wife by striking her in the face with just sufficient force to leave visible traces." (53:25.) Boas, to the contrary, speaking of the Central Eskimo, holds that "the husband is not allowed to maltreat or punish his wife." (5:579.) The real state of affairs is probably that there are no "rights" one way or the other. Wife-beating is often indulged in (6:298, 538; 42:414; 20:123, 195; 30:102; 1.1:307; 50:55) and as we shall see presently, she reciprocates if she can. If either party doesn't like the treatment he or she is free to leave. There certainly is no legal machinery by which either sex can enforce its "rights." It is a principle among the Eskimo not to interfere in domestic broils (50:56; 30:102), except in cases where relatives may side with the wife. (50:61.) But they too may stand idly by, like the man, who, when Rasmussen appealed to him to help his own sister, replied that "women must be punished occasionally to make them obedient." (50:56.)

But, as has been already hinted, the story is not all on one side. A case reported by Murdoch is not unique: "a stalwart wife turned the tables on her husband who attempted to abuse her, giving him a thorough beating and then leaving his house." (42:414.) Peary speaks of a woman who "proved her right to independence by blackening the old man's eye." (48:60.) Amundsen tells of a couple, the female partner of which was "the biggest and strongest lady of the tribe." "This was a typical 'happy marriage,' she reigned absolute and he obeyed blindly." (1.1:307-8.) Rasmussen witnessed a battle between a man and his wife. "Women's whims! It is quite amusing to cure them of them!" shouted the man. "Like a flash of lightning she sprang at him and struck him such a violent blow, that he fell down with a howl." This caused exceeding merriment all through the village. "The strong man has been knocked down by a woman. Fancy! Eré was thrown by his wife—pfui, by a woman!" (50:58; cf. 30:97.)

Such incidents as these seem to make unnecessary Petitot's theory that the one line of the Eskimo's ancestry came of a conquered race, which the victors assimilated by marrying and subjecting their women. "I can explain in no other way the complete servility of the fair sex." (49:104.)

But such domestic unpleasantnesses need not be supposed to be common occurrences among the Eskimo. Like similar happenings among ourselves, they are of course more likely to get "in print" than the even tenor of the average home life. Nearly all who are familiar with the Eskimo would agree with Holm when he says that "the men as a rule treat their wives well." (30:96.) Petitot, in the passage referred to above, compares the general treatment of women by the Eskimo and by the Indians among whom he worked much to the credit of the former. Nansen, after describing some turbulent episode, adds, "Scenes of this sort, however, are rare among this peaceable people." (43:121, 148.) Murdoch declares "there often appeared to be a warm attachment between married people." (42:410; cf. 1.1:308.) Several writers describe scenes of demonstrative affection. According to Holm, "it is a usual thing to see married people caressing each other with extraordinary intimacy." (30:96; cf. 110; also 50:59.) Rasmussen writes: "On the whole I have retained the pleasantest impression of the mutual relations between man and woman. . . . We are quick to judge the men, because they strike; and we are sorry for the women, who get a black eye now and again as the result of a little temper. But we forget that we civilized men, by a poisoned word, can often strike harder and more brutally than the Eskimo with his fist." (50: 63 sqq.)

The mutual affection of married people grows with age. To quote Dalager, "the longer a married couple live together, the more closely are they united in affection, until at last they pass their old age together like innocent children." (43:148; cf. 30:97.) Murdoch points out that marital troubles are chiefly among young couples. (42:414.)

As to the position of woman in the community, we have very divergent testimony. Holm, for instance, remarks that "the women have social importance only in as far as they give occasion for disagreement among men. Their position can nearest be regarded as that of servants." (30:87.) But there are many more witnesses which take a quite different view of "woman's sphere." Thus Murdoch says:

"The women appear to stand on a footing of perfect equality with the men both in the family and in the community. The wife is the constant and trusted companion of the man in everything except the hunt, and her opinion is sought in every bargain or other important undertaking." (See also 46, 1: 449; 4: 387, 391; 32: 119; 50: 64.)

Nansen affirms that, if

"the social position occupied by its women affords the best criterion of a people's place in the scale of civilization (a view which he does not accept; cf. 71, 1: 646) the Eskimo must be allowed to have reached a pretty high level of development. For the Eskimo woman plays no insignificant part in the life of the community." (43: 121; see also 133.)

The facts of the division of labor between the sexes shed light on this problem, and merit some consideration. Writers to speak of women's life as "slavery" use that term primarily, I think, as synonymous with *drudgery*, although inferiority and subjection may also be implied. Now no one denies that the Eskimo woman has a hard task to perform. But are the men idlers? The principle of division of labor is fundamental to an understanding of Eskimo social and economic life. As Nansen puts it, "The employments of the sexes are entirely distinct," and he goes on to say:

"The Eskimo have not yet attained to the conception that there is little or no difference between the men and women. They hold that there are, among other things, certain essential physical differences." (43: 122.)

For an excellent detailed treatment of this subject we refer to this author's chapter on "The Position and Work of Women." Without going into detail here, we quote the following from Nansen, which is typical of the Eskimo everywhere:

"To the man's share falls the laborious life at sea, as hunter and food-provider; but when he reaches the shore with his booty, he has fulfilled the most important part of his social function. He is received by his womenfolk, who help him ashore; and while he has nothing to do but to look after his kayak and his weapons, it is the part of the women to drag the booty up to the house. The women flay the seal and cut it up according to fixed rules, and the mother of the house presides at the division of it. Further, it is the women's duty to cook the food, to prepare the skins, to cover the kayaks and woman-boats, to make clothes, and to attend to all other domestic tasks. In addition to this they build the houses, pitch the tents, and row the woman-boats." (43: 123; cf. 26: 178; 30: 88; 19: 62; 16. 1: 154.)

It is also common, on overland journeys, for a woman to act as leader and guide of the dog-team. (42:274, 359; 26:138, 215, 1.1:175.) In East Greenland the men share in work otherwise performed only by women, such as flensing the seal, putting up the tent, and dragging the game to the house. (30:97.)

The following words of Westermarck are perfectly applicable to the Eskimo:

"It is obvious that this strict division of labor is apt to mislead the travelling stranger. He sees the women hard at work, and the men looking idly on; and it escapes him that the latter will have to be busy in their turn, within their own sphere of action. . . . The wife is pronounced to be an abject slave of her husband, destitute of all right. And yet the strong differentiation of work, however burdensome it may be to the wife, is itself a source of rights, giving her authority within a circle which is exclusively her own." (71, 1: 637.)

This division of labor, based on physical and social conditions, has become fixed by custom, so that departure from it is regarded as a disgrace. As Nansen says, "it was beneath the dignity of the hunter to lend a hand" in any work peculiar to women. (43:123; cf. 69:434.) But it should be added, for this is liable to be overlooked, that even more disgraceful than for a man to do a woman's, it is for a man *not* to do a *man's* work. To the point is Crantz' statement that "those unable to catch seals are held in the greatest contempt." (16.1:151.) Recall the importance of ability as a hunter as a qualification for marriage.

A certain distinction between the sexes is seen on some social occasions. For instance, at meals and banquets, the women do not eat with the men. They eat either afterwards, or at the same time by themselves. (19:76; 5:563; 1.1:122; 43:134.) We must be careful not to read too much significance into such a custom. Certainly, there is no evidence that the Eskimo women regard this as a sign of social inferiority, as some of the authorities do. Indeed they may prefer this arrangement. Dalager relates that the men sit in their place and discuss their hunting adventures, past and future (a subject more interesting to them than to the women), while "the women too have in the meantime formed a little party by themselves in another corner." (Quoted 43:134.) We know that women take part, equally with the men, in important events, like the

singing contests and the festivals for the dead. Also women, even little girls, may be angakoks. (43:29; 63:281, 299.)

In concluding this survey of the life of the Eskimo woman it is well to consider thoughts like these by Rasmussen:

"A superficial consideration of the position of women in Eskimo society might induce one mistakenly to believe that she leads exclusively a cowed and unhappy existence. But certainly no one would be more astonished than herself if any one came to the Eskimo woman and pitied her. . . . She herself has no consciousness whatever of being man's drudge. . . . That they are indispensable to the maintenance of the social fabric they know quite well and are proud of it." (50: 62 sqq.)

24. CONCLUSION

In closing this study, the writer is keenly aware of its incompleteness and inadequacy. Doubtless, errors of interpretation are not wanting. No one could more eagerly welcome criticism and correction of any such. He realizes also how doubtful, in the present state of our knowledge, are many points of fact. Numerous inconsistencies and contradictions in the available evidence remain unresolved. To accomplish this, as well as arrive at a safe interpretation of the older observed data, recourse must be had to further "careful field work," as Boas has emphasized. (8:805.) I think a study of this kind impresses one with the uncertain and fragmentary nature of our information even about a people of whom so much has been written; and the caution necessary in weighing conclusions based on "comparative" studies of great numbers of peoples, about most of whom our accurate knowledge is painfully meager. Further, this humble effort, I believe, brings out the importance of studying ethnological phenomena in the proper relations to the total cultural complex of which they are a part. Without a knowledge of such relations, many features of Eskimo morality would be even less comprehensible than they now are.

Finally, I may say, that one must be impressed with the intense humanness of this people—that "a man's a man for a' that"—even an Eskimo. And, while it is the business of the ethnologist to describe and explain, not to praise or censure, I cannot but express a profound admiration for these "neighbors of the north pole." To study their life and character has been a genuine pleasure. Of those things in their morality

which may jar our civilized sensibilities, I can but say with Osaquaq, the Smith Sound Eskimo,

"Our tales are of men's experiences, and the things one hears of are not always lovely things. But one cannot deck a tale to make it pleasant, if at the same time it shall be true. The tongue must echo the event and cannot adapt itself to taste or caprice."

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THE ADOLESCENT GIRL AMONG PRIMITIVE PEOPLES

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VI. NATIVE EXPLANATIONS OF PUBERTY-CUSTOMS

It is a singular fact that of all the theories of the significance of puberty-ceremonies, such as those of Frobenius, Frazer, Crawley, Schurtz, Webster, etc., none is based mainly on the explanations of primitive peoples themselves, the assumption being, apparently, that of the Freudian theory of consciousness; i. e., these statements do not say what they mean, and the true reason must be sought elsewhere. Difficulties in the method of using native explanations are enormous; in many cases, they have not been recorded, or have been "interpreted" by the recorder. In spite of this, however, it would seem that here, as in the fields of totemism and myth, nothing can be gained until foundations are laid in the facts of primitive life. If then we fail, by this method, to reduce puberty-customs to the dimensions of a theory, we may at least obtain insight into the healthy diversity of the problem.

Westermarck (95:170), noting that the explanation often given for savage decoration is a religious one, remarks: "But such tales are not of much importance, as any usage practiced from time immemorial may easily be ascribed to the command of a god." Arbitrary religious sanction, however, may well serve to indicate the secondary and fortuitous nature of the custom. Wundt (in his *Ethik*), on the contrary, holds that the religious idea is the true source of the custom. This is the view of Tylor, later adopted by Frazer and Crawley. The present use of native explanations of puberty-customs, however, is not concerned with the problem of the origin and development of these customs, but with their *meaning* to the people who use them. The aim is to discover the content, not the interpretation.

In a recent article on "The Sociological Significance of

Myth" (*Folklore*, 1912, XXIII, pp. 307-331), Rivers points out that the service of myths in providing *clear evidence of social conditions* has been largely overlooked (p. 328). It is upon this function of native explanation that the present method relies.

In the material studied, native explanations have been furnished in 219 instances. To attempt to group these reasons into certain categories is to enter a maze of conflicting motives as varied as life itself. Yet it will be apparent that typical ideas emerge, exhibiting features which are mainly physical, esthetic, pedagogical, religious or social; we cannot gain complete disposal, however, of each individual explanation by grouping it under one of these heads. For instance, the custom found among the Shuswap Indians of setting lice adrift at puberty is given a purely physical reason, *i. e.*, that the adolescents may be free from vermin in the future. But it is performed also for a magico-religious reason, founded on express belief that everything done at this period has a pre-determining effect upon the after-life of the individual (89:587). In order to show the complexity of the problem, it may be well to treat separately two very common and widespread modes of treatment,—tattooing and circumcision.

A. Tattooing

To a greater or less extent tattooing is performed on the adolescent girl in Asia, Oceania, and North and South America; not at all in Australia, and rarely in Africa. None of the puberty-rites studied show evidences of simple tattooing of the girl in Africa. As to Australia, Westermarck (85:177) says that either or both sexes are tattooed at puberty. Waitz (*Anthrop. d. Naturv.*, Lpzg., 1872, Vol. VI, p. 739, p. 785, p. 787) mentions tattooing and scarification at puberty among the Australians without distinguishing them. Spencer and Gillen (85:42) note the prevalence of cicatrices, first made at puberty.

The physical extent of tattooing includes every part of the body,—“no visible part of the human body, except the eyeball, has escaped this practice.” (95:169.)

Miss Fletcher states that, in general, tattooing for men in North America, “marked personal achievement, some special office, symbolized a vision from the supernatural powers, or

served some practical purpose," as measuring, tallying and the like; while among women "the tattooing was more social in its significance." (38.II:700.)

With few exceptions, this is true elsewhere. Tattooing a line from the edge of the lower lip to the point of the chin, among the Eskimo, announced that the girl had arrived at puberty. Three lines (or more) indicated marriage. This was, perhaps, the most general form and meaning of tattooing applied to girls, throughout the American continent, as pointed out by Swanton.

Among the Nagas of Upper Assam matrimony was not permitted to the untattooed girls (Dalton, *Descript. Ethnol. Bengal*, Calcutta, 1872, p. 39). Tattooing is necessary before marriage among some of the pagan races of the Malay Peninsula, and in many parts of Oceania (76:493-494, 741, 264-2; Hose, *Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, Lond., 1912, Vol. I, pp. 166-171).

Similarly, the Makalaka girls, of South Africa, undergo the severe ordeal of having about four thousand stitches made in the skin of the chest and stomach, and a black fluid rubbed into the wounds. This occurs at puberty, and is necessary for marriage (Mauch, cited by Westermarck, 95:178). The Baffin's Bay Eskimo say that they tattoo girls in order to distinguish the sexes, since both dress in similar fashion (2:481). The Hudson Bay Eskimo give a highly suggestive social reason. At puberty girls are tattooed by old women, who insist on doing this in order to make the girls "look old" (2:481). Here we have a custom imposed by a social class, whose interests are remotest from adolescence. This artificial or fortuitous stimulus to pubertal custom is found in numerous instances, and is often recognized in the primitive explanation.

Tattooing as class mark, or sign of distinction, is frequent. The Omaha and some of their cognates place a round mark on the girl's forehead to indicate the achievements of her father, though she herself must fulfil conditions of chastity, strength and industry before he can receive the honor which accompanies this ceremony. The design is called "The Mark of Honor," and insures to the girl fertility, and a fortunate marriage. (25)

This custom may be compared to scarring the chest of a girl when her brother spears his first *dugong*, as is done in New Guinea (Haddon). We may compare also tattooing the

mouth of the Eskimo wife whose husband is a great whaler (Fletcher, in 38.II:700).

The Takelma tattoo girls at puberty as a sex mark, "to prevent them being derided as boys" (71:273). Among the Ahoms (Shans of the Tai branch), tattooing is a mark of social distinction granted only to members of the priestly clan (Gurdon, P. R., in 22.I:235). While among the Tangkhuls of Manipur tattooing is a tribal identification, as well as means of protection; all women who bear this sign are unmolested when abroad, since other peoples respect Tangkhul vengeance (Hodson). So with the Haida tribes of Queen Charlotte Islands, designs which have reached the highest esthetic quality of tattooing in North America, north of Mexico, are imprinted upon both men and women as tribal marks of distinction (Fletcher, in 38.II:700).

Esthetic and purely physical reasons are rare for this practice. The Melanesians of British New Guinea and the Massim tattoo solely as a means of personal adornment, and give no other explanation. (76:489, 492.)

Among the Naga Tribes of Manipur tattooing is said to have originated at the suggestion of a foreign monarch who pitied the poverty-stricken Naga who had no ornaments. (Hodson, p. 30.) Here should be mentioned the interesting fact that tattooing designs of the middle Atlantic coast peoples and those of many of the Western tribes of North America represented pottery and basket designs, showing their relation to woman's art and industry. (Fletcher, in 38.II:700; compare Wissler, "Dec. Art of the Sioux Indians," in *Bull. Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist.*, N. Y., Vol. XVIII, 1904, pp. 231-278.) Westermarck, in his chapter, "Means of Attraction," gives other examples which may have purely esthetic interpretation. (95:179 et seq.) See also tattooing and noseboring of the Melanesians (Massim), "to attract the opposite sex." (76:492.)

The chief physical explanations given are: for the sake of fertility (Omaha); for the cure of toothache (Chippewa, many beliefs were attached to the way in which the patient endured the pain). The therapeutic value of tattooing performed by a pubescent girl upon a delicate youth has already been mentioned; for the purpose of stimulating sex-passion in the girl preparatory to marriage (Thompson, B., *Fiji*, London, 1908, p. 219).

The relation of tattooing to sex-passion has been noted in Samoa by Turner (*Samoa*, London, 1884, p. 90). In Tahiti this connection is also indicated, and given a religious explanation. The daughter of Taaroa and Apouvaru, their chief deities, was secluded at puberty, in order to preserve her chastity. "Intent on her seduction, the brothers invented tattooing, and marked each other with the figure called Taomaro. Thus ornamented, they appeared before their sister, who admired the figures, and in order to be tattooed herself . . . broke the enclosure that had been erected for her preservation, was tattooed, and became also the victim to the designs of her brothers." These two sons became the gods of tattooing, and men imitated their example. It is significant, however, that the chiefs of Tahiti later prohibited it altogether. (Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, Vol. I:262, 266.)

Joest attributes tattooing to desire to attract and stimulate the opposite sex. (*Tätowiren, Narbenzeichnen und Körperbemalen*. Berlin, 1887, p. 56; compare 95:131.)

Other religious reasons for tattooing are in the main bound up with the welfare of the girl in the future world. With the Greenland Eskimo and those of the Aleutian Islands, if the operation is omitted girls in the future world will be turned into tubs, and placed under lamps in heaven (12). Among the Fijians, tattooing was appointed by the god Dengei, and its neglect punished by indignities in the other world. (Thompson, *Op. cit.*, p. 218.) With the Cochin Oddens, girls were tattooed as proof of their life on earth when they should die. (42.II:391.) Similarly the Chamars tattoo their girls, so as to "secure identification in the next world." (Lillingston, in 22.III:354.) The highest religious feeling, as exhibited by tattooing the pubescent girl, is shown by the Omaha and some of their cognates. Here the four-pointed star on back and breast signified life-processes and spiritual forces in nature. Male and female, light and dark, sun, moon, water, earth, sky, and the four life-giving winds were all expressed in this outward symbol of the union of the girl with the cosmos (25).

B. Circumcision

In dealing with native reasons for circumcision of girls all analogous operations on the sexual organs, such as infibulation, introcision, piercing or cutting the hymen or ovary, gashes,

mutilations, etc., will be included. These practices on girls are found frequently in Africa and Australia, somewhat in Oceania and South America, rarely in North America, and occasionally in Asia.

Although it will be impossible to pass in review the numerous theories of the origin and significance of circumcision, those of Westermarck and Spencer may fittingly be compared with theories offered by primitive peoples. Westermarck holds, as we have seen, that circumcision and all mutilations of the body arose as means of sex-attraction, through the need of variety, stimulus, decoration, etc. Later religious interpretation was given, or the custom became mechanical. (95:201-206.) According to Spencer, circumcision is a sacrificial offering to the gods. (*Descript. Sociol.*, Vol. II, p. 67..) This theory with certain modifications is widely held. (Frazer, Crawley, etc.)

Later, as in the case of the Jews, the custom is sometimes held to have developed social and legal features, becoming a mark of identification with a privileged class. According to this view circumcision is extended to women in the course of struggle for higher social status, and equality with men; it is then for women, a sort of by-product of freedom.

Primitive peoples express to a certain extent these types of explanation, but with a wider range, and as will be seen, a closer reference to the human aspect.

A common physical explanation of the circumcision of girls is to secure or promote chastity, though here it must be recognized that social, hygienic and religious factors may be involved. (Bamangwato, and peoples of Galla lands, Kordofan, Nubia, and Somali, in Africa; the Asiatic Kamchadals; and some of the tribes of South America.)

In the Somali lands, among the Asiatic Pegu, and in some other parts of Africa, as well as with certain peoples in Arabia and Egypt, infibulation occurs, sometimes together with circumcision, though not always performed at puberty, and is given a similar explanation. (87:548; Gray, in 22.III:667-669; Littmann, in *ibid.*, I:58; 61.I:379.)

Other physical explanations are: to check sexual desire before marriage, natives of the Alfurese Archipelago, and the Mandingo of West Africa (Gray, in 22.III:667) to avert hysteria (Peuhls and some cognates, Gray, P. H., *loc. cit.*; 61.II:220-235), to promote fertility (Masai, Bambuk, natives of Old Calabar), while some of the Australians are said

by Ploss to pierce the ovary to prevent fertility. (61.II:235, citing MacGillivray.)

In one of the Masai native texts we read, "When Masai girls wish to marry they are circumcised." (Hollis, *The Masai*. Oxford, 1905, p. 299.) Although in the ceremony itself there is much to indicate that the rite has a ceremonial and civil purpose as well, the chief reason here given, points to the operation as a physical preparation for marriage. This reason is stated by the Bechuanas, and some of the other Bantus. (Joyce, *Ency. Brit.*, 1911, Vol. IV, p. 604.) So, among some tribes of the Malay Archipelago and of South America, circumcision is absolutely essential as preparation for marriage. (Gray, in 22.III:667; 62.I:438; see also 1884 edition.) In the Sudan and some other parts of Africa, no girl who is not infibulated can obtain a husband. (95:124; citing Escayrac de Lauture.) Egypt furnishes another illustration. (Gray, *loc. cit.*; Joyce, in *Ency. Brit.*, 1911, Vol. XIX, pp. 99-100.)

As preparatory to marriage too, are the Australian rites of perforation of the hymen (*Journ. Anthropol. Inst.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 169). This custom occurs in many other parts of the world. (95:123-125.) It ends the Zulu girl's seclusion, and admits her to freedom, and later to marriage. (*Journ. Anthropol. Inst.*, Vol. XX, pp. 117-118). As preparatory to marriage, too, are the Australian rites of perforation of the hymen, the rite of Atna-Ariltha, introcision, etc. Crawley supposes that, in accord with his general theory, these operations are for the purpose of "removing the first and therefore most virulent part of female contagion, as the West African, 'takes off the fetish,' from a strange liquor by getting some one to 'handsel' it." (14:190-191.) As regards the practice of introcision, however, and, possibly, some others, the Australians are said to consider that the rite of subincision for men necessitates an analogous operation for women. This purely physiological explanation obviates the contagion theory.

Finally we have the physical conception of circumcision as securing the health and well-being of girls. (Quechuas of Peru.) This conception may be compared with the theory of the now obsolete gynecology, with its widespread reliance on the general therapeutic value of ovariectomy. Rather than presence of ideas of sacrifice, etc., we seem more frequently to detect crude prototypes of the modern hygienic removal of vestigial organs, lymphoid tissue growth and the like.

Some of the native reasons are pedagogical, for example: "to make the girl more skilful and capable in her daily work" (Pano of South America; Gray, in 22.III:667); to keep her from weariness or laziness (Indonesia, 87: 523; Gray, in 22.III: 667), or, as among the Nandi of East Africa, circumcision and ordeals are for the purpose of making the girl "courageous and strong." (Hollis, *Nandi*, pp. 57-82.) Among the Australians, cutting the ovary is said to exist as a punishment (62.II:235); so, punishment of girls in certain parts of India, includes mutilation of the sex-organs.

A religious turn is given to this practice by the Tecuna of Western Brazil who circumcise their girls, "to remove uncleanness." (Gray, in 22.III:668.) The religious nature is seen further among some of the Uaupès tribes of South America, among whom the rite may be reduced to a mere gash cut in the vulva, for ceremonial purposes, or "to banish evil." In Abyssinia, circumcision of girls is under the influence of the cult of the Virgin, fused with that of a pagan goddess who was protector of chastity. (Littmann, in 22.I:58.) The religious significance may be indicated as among the Suk, by use of the circumcision song and dances in the religious thanksgiving for grass in time of rain. (Beech, *The Suk*, p. 34.)

Among the A-Kikuyu all members of the tribe must be circumcised; "none otherwise can take part in any of the religious rites." (Routledge, W. S., *With a Prehistoric People*, London, 1910, p. 151.

By far the most numerous explanations are those which are social, such as admission to the nation, or sign that property may be inherited, etc. (A-Kikuyu: Bantu: Masai: Egyptians: Indonesia, etc.) Circumcision occurs with the Bantus frequently as a "civil rite," permitting boys to govern the country, and girls to associate on equal terms with mature members of the tribe. Both sexes form fraternities with all members of their own sex circumcised at the same time, and this bond is as enduring as kinship. (*Theol. Hist. and Ethnogr. of Syria*, London, 1907, Vol. I, pp. 112-117.)

This civil aspect has analogies in the very different custom of requiring evidence of the girl's virginity as a legal safeguard to her rights. Thus, among the Jews, "the tokens of the damsel's virginity" must be given to her parents to protect her in case of later accusation. (Deut., XXII:15-17.)

Similar badges of social status are preserved in China, Arabia, and among the Chuvashes. (95, p. 124.) Circumcision, as "a sign of maturity," is performed by the many African peoples (63.I:37), the Indians of North East Peru (Gray, T. H., 22.III:667), as a means of identifying the girl with the tribe (Nandi). With this may be compared the statement of the Bawenda, circumcision "has come to us from other tribes." (Wassmann, *The Bawenda*, 1908, pp. 61-62.) Not only is the custom of circumcision borrowed, but it may recede under foreign influence, thus showing its dependent and secondary character. The Suk, near the Turkana, do not circumcise as do their tribesmen who live elsewhere; the operation has been abandoned for both sexes, so that in time of war they may not be distinguished from their enemies. (Beech, *Op. cit.*, pp. 20-21.) So, in Madagascar the ceremony of circumcision has been obscured and abbreviated in recent years through contact with other peoples. Here the only part played by girls in the ceremony is the circumcision dance performed by those arrived at puberty. (See *Anthropos*, 1912.) Many peoples of Africa circumcise the girl at puberty in order to preserve the life of the child who will be born of her in the future. (Gray, in 22.III:667.) Some of the Naga tribes of Manipur (61.II:220-235) practice infibulation so that parents of adolescents may be relieved from necessity of providing property, gifts, etc., in case of an early marriage, the amount to be given by the parents being fixed by law. (Hodson, p. 199.) We have here two extreme types of social explanation; in one instance the pubertal custom is determined by the future generation, in the other by the past. In neither is there direct relation to adolescence itself.

C. Other Puberty-Customs

The remaining primitive reasons for customs relating to the adolescent girl may be roughly grouped under the following heads: esthetic, physical, pedagogical, religious and social.

1. *Esthetic.*

Although the vast majority of puberty-rites have esthetic features, ranging from personal decoration and use of cosmetics to the highest forms of primitive art, as seen in adolescent games, songs, dances, pantomime, pageants and dramas, story-

telling, arts and crafts, and the various forms of pictorial art, painting, carving and the like, it is interesting to note that an esthetic reason for these rites is given only very rarely. The reasons themselves are usually equivocal. The Fijians and Tasmanians practised cicatrization solely for decoration. Also "rows of wart-like spots are burned along the arms and backs" of girls, for ornament. (Williams and Calvert, *Fiji and the Fijians*, p. 137.) Cicatrices of the Australians have no meaning but ornament, though Spencer and Gillen note their relation to puberty and scars cut in mourning. (85:42. See also Curr, E. M., *The Australian Race*, 4 vols. Melbourne and London, 1886-1887, Vol. II, p. 475.) Some tribes of Madagascar make incisions simply for ornament. (Sibree, J., *The Great African Island*. London, 1880, p. 210.) The Kadars chip the teeth of girls at puberty, "to prevent ugliness," though this is the only tribe or caste in India to practice this custom (42:I:24-25). In some parts of the Malay Archipelago, teeth are filed and blackened, white teeth being "like dogs'." (95:174.) Burmans stain the teeth black as decoration. (Temple, in 22.III:32.) Some of the Makalaka tribes, north of the Zambesi, "break out their top incisor teeth from sheerest vanity. Their women say that it is only horses that eat with all their teeth, and that men ought not to eat like horses." (Holub, *Seven Years in South Africa*, 1881, Vol. II, p. 259.) Other African tribes and some Australians knock out the teeth of girls, so they will "not be refused on account of ugliness." (Humboldt, cited by Westermarek, p. 174.) Although Westermarek holds that painting the girl at the first menstruation, assumption of labrets, nose and lip rings, etc., are due solely to desire for attracting the opposite sex, explanations as stated by primitive peoples appear usually more complex. (Westermarek, p. 172.)

The Jicarilla ceremony (Athapascan) representing dramatically by girl and boy, the racial origin of the people, contains, in the native text, some apparently purely esthetic elements. (31:266-268.)

2. *Physical.*

These reasons may be divided into those which relate to the girl's personal welfare, and those which relate to society. Examples of the first type are: knocking out teeth

to assist in breathing (Pepos, 61.II:424); use of scratch-stick to prevent baldness, grayness, and marks on the body (Lillooet, 89:264); use of drinking-tube, to prevent stomach trouble (Tahltan, Emmons, G. T., Univ. Penn. Anthrop. Pub., 1911, p. 165); headbiting to cause heavy growth of hair (Australian Arunta, 85); eating the pounded flesh of a black hen, having laid for the first time, in order to make the back and waist strong (Cochin Oddens, 42.II:391); painting, to preserve health or comfort,—thus, the ancient Egyptians painted a rim of green color around the eyes to moderate the glare of the sun, and green malachite paint is today used in Central Africa as a disinfectant, or we find paint used to keep flies away. (Spearing, *The Childhood of Art*, London, 1912, p. 381.) Paint is not only a medicine, but a sign, sometimes of maturity (thus among some Tapuyas of Brazil, if the girl, “be marriageable, and yet not courted by any, the mother paints her with some red colour about the eyes.” Nieuhoff, “Voyages and Travels into Brazil”; Pinkerton, “Collection of Voyages,” XVI:878). The Maidu, however, erase paint from the girl, in order to show that her first menstruation is over. Tooth filing also serves as a sign; thus, in the Malay Archipelago the common way of saying the girl has arrived at puberty is to say, “she has had her teeth filed.” (Crawford, *Hist. of the Indian Archipelago*, 3 vols., Edinburgh, 1820, Vol. I, pp. 215 *et seq.*) So, too, the various taboos are explained: the Kafir girl must not see the sun, “lest she shrivel up (Kidd); the same is true of sun and fire among the Déné; among the Yaraikanna, if struck by the sun, her nose will be diseased; she must eat nothing that lives in the salt water, or a snake will kill her; she must not wear a buckskin headdress, or the deer will be displeased, and, in later years, give her headache (Lillooet); so among the Tarahumares of Mexico, she must not touch deer antlers, or her breasts will fall off (Lumholtz, *Unknown Mexico*, New York, 1902, p. 274). She must not eat the uterus, head or feet of any animal, to prevent abscess in the ear (Tahltan). Among the Assiniboine there is strict taboo that no menstruating girl step over anyone, or see the sick, or approach a medicine bundle, in order to prevent her from menstruating indefinitely. (Lowie); the Shoshone give the same reason for restricting the girl to a vegetable diet (Lowie);

the Maidu carefully guard her from sight of blood, lest she be very ill (Dixon).

Explanations of the Australian Arunta and Ilfirra tribes are similarly explicit. If food restrictions are violated a series of evil physical consequences will follow, non-development of the breasts, malformation of the genitals, continued flow of the menses, premature age, abnormal sex desire, etc. Girls are allowed to eat only young nestlings otherwise she will not be able to nurse her child. (85:472-473.) Customs of the second type have to do usually with childbirth, and rearing. Thus the Diegueños, and the Mission Indians, "roast" the girl, and throw seeds over her to influence the organ of generation, and to make her prolific. This ceremony has also a religious meaning. The new hair arrangement of the Hopi, imitating the mature squash, while the former coiffure has suggested the blossom, is explained as a sign of maturity, "and to promote fertility." Among the Zuñi, at the ceremony of the Rabbit Hunt of the Gods, the first rabbit is killed, and the blood allowed to trickle down the girl's legs for the sake of her fecundity. Among the Lkūngen, the head of any fish is tabooed, so that she may "secure good luck in marriage." The Shuswap girl goes through a regular course of physical training to insure the strength of her child. She undergoes burning, etc., to enable her to withstand the pain of childbirth. Similar ordeals are common in Africa and elsewhere. Many taboos relate to the child. If the Tahltan girl ate the feet of the mountain-goat, the child would be lazy, and a poor traveler. The girl, among the Tarahumares, will not eat the pancreas, for fear of childlessness. So, long periods of fasting are performed for the good of offspring. The Tlingit girl fasts, and eats sparingly for eight months in order to insure the rebirth of her dead relative. The most conspicuous example is the fast of the girls and boys in the Andaman Islands, as a "test for fitness for marriage, and endurance and self-denial requisite to support a family" (51). Throughout the other types of reasons there are constant references to the future generation, on the social and religious side, as well as the physical.

3. *Pedagogical.*

Here, too, we find motives readily separated into those which concern personal training of the girl, and those which relate

to her preparation for life in the group. Both vary in degree from the mere song among the Maidu, enumerating all kinds of agricultural work and food products expected of the girl in future, to the four year period of education among some of the Indians of British Columbia, and the elaborate training of girls in great seminaries among the ancient Mexicans. (Mason.)*

It is no accident that these examples have been chosen from America; whatever the modern educational status of the American girl may be, it is a fact that, among the American Indians, she received the highest degree of attention to be found among any primitive people.

The following modes of personal training are common: walking, running, leaping, digging, climbing, swimming, to obtain tirelessness and lightness of foot (Shuswap, Lillooet, etc.); carrying pots of water, "that she may be strong" (Kafir); hard labor at the home of her future mother-in-law during the first day of the first menstruation, "to promote industry and fertility" (Hopi Indians); vigils for long periods so that she will not be lazy (Cheyenne Indians). Among the Haida the same purpose is served by sleeping on rocks (Swanton). The Thompson Indians ceremonially flog both sexes at adolescence to prevent laziness (Teit). The African Bawenda beat girls, and chill them for hours in the river, "to harden them" (Wassmann.) Other forms of hard usage are prescribed to "prepare them for future tasks as wives and mothers." Beating, as preparation for matrimony, also occurs at Torres Straits. Among the Shekani the girl submits to hard treatment, undergoes long fasting and gazing at the sun till a swoon is produced, "to break the will of the candidate, and provide secrecy"; also "to produce submission and bravery." The A-Kikuyu sing a special song to preserve the courage of the girl during circumcision. (Routledge.) Among the Akamba,

* NOTE: Some of the education of the girl in ancient Mexico was given by the mother, as is shown on ancient inscriptions, the girl was taught cooking, meal preparation, weaving, pottery, and decoration. Her food allowance and punishments were the same as those of the boy. At eight punishment was with thorns, at ten with clubs, at eleven with fire. (Tozzer, Alfred M., "The Value of Ancient Mexican Manuscripts in the study of the General Development of Writing." *Ann. Report of the Smithsonian Inst.*, Washington, 1911 [1912], pp. 493-506).

elaborate precautions are taken to test the girl's courage during this operation; two balls of goat's dung are balanced on toe and knee, and, if one of them falls to the ground, the girl is disgraced and must throw away the warrior's garments with which she has been clad. (Hobley.) Vomiting is resorted to among the Luiseño, to free from badness, or to detect badness. (Kroeber.) Girls among the Indians of North Carolina were formerly secluded in the dark, "to harden them." (Ploss.) The Haida practiced seclusion, fasting and vigils, so that the girl might avoid garrulousness or excessive hilarity in later life (Swanton.). During the severe trials of the Queensland tribes, advice is given, "to soften the heart"; while the Kurnai knead the stomach, "to drive out selfishness and greed." The Vuntakutchin Indians give the naïve reason for seclusion, careful guarding, intermittent fasting and taboos extending over a year, that this will prevent a second year of seclusion as a punishment. The "roasting" ceremony common to the Luiseño, Diegueños, and other Mission Indians, contains features of gift-giving, exhortation, etc., to teach the girls to be generous and to give to the poor and needy. (Rust.) Property and gifts are distributed by the Assiniboine, "to honor the girl" (Lowie). So, the dramatic presentation of culture-history of the South West Athapascans, is for the purpose of securing for the girl "a happy, useful and honorable life."

Thus, the modes of education are not always severe. The Maidu have a good woman breathe or whistle into the mouth of the girl, so that she will be brave and good natured (Dixon). During the seclusion and fast of some of the Brazilian Indians, the father sings at dawn to encourage the girl, and to enumerate the kinds of food she soon may eat. So, the father of the girl of some of the peoples of Torres Straits, weeps when she returns from her month long-seclusion, to express his sorrow for her absence. (Yam and Tutu Islands.) The Korean capping-ceremony emphasized the pedagogic value of assumption of garments of maturity: "In this fortunate moon and on this lucky day an addition is made to your dress. You must now discard all childish thoughts, and obey, so that you may attain perfect virtue. May you live long and attain much happiness by the aid of this blessing."

Occasionally we find no education given. Among the Masai, "prior to marriage the young girls do nothing of a menial

nature. They spend their time in dancing, singing, and adorning themselves; and though they live with the warriors they are exempted from all work. More usually they do not even cook the food they eat." (Hinde, S. L., and H., *The Last of the Masai*, London, 1901, p. 67.)

Customs to train the girl for social duties are especially numerous. The "Greegree Bush," of the Vãi of Liberia, gives extensive training in manners, morals, industry, and the wisdom and folk-lore of the tribe. The A-Kamba have sticks, carved with riddles containing tribal secrets, and wisdom, which must first be constructed and then solved by the girls before they are released. The A-Kamba combine both symbolism and systematic instruction. As the candidates arrive for the initiation ceremony they are met by an elder, an old man for the boys, an old woman for the girls. Each is given a sip of native beer, and ushered into the hut. Here they are seized by an elder and thrust through a back door, where a freshly built door leads into the woods. The girls must gather firewood and the boys must hunt. When they return to the village they must use the new door and new road, and thenceforth during the ceremony. The young people stay in the hut eight days, and are lectured to daily. Boys sleep on one side, girls on the other. Boys are taught to make bows and arrows; the girls learn basket making. Tutors (Mubwiki), are responsible for their conduct. (39:74.) The Baganda give special instruction and hold a ceremony, so that the girl may "be a successful manager of a plantain grove and to be an expert cook." (Rosecoe.) Thus the Yaos have ceremonial performance of agriculture to train them for the future (Werner); while their supreme duty is indicated by groups of girls carrying about for some time a miniature house, or skeleton roof on their shoulders, as "symbolical of their position as pillars of the home." Although this symbolical method of education is very common, and is found everywhere, as well as that consisting solely of imitation, systematic instruction is by no means lacking, as is seen among the Shuswap, where girls practice, under instruction of parent or attendant, arts and crafts for years that they "might be fitted to fill a useful place in the family."

Sex-pedagogy for the adolescent girl is rarely neglected among primitive peoples. Among methods used are, direct instruction by the mother, or old women, physical practices and

operations, songs and dances, ceremonies, acts of initiation, courtship, sexual intercourse, nakedness, examinations for virginity (Pedi-Bantu), ceremonies employing objects of nature as symbols and modes of imagery, religious rites performed with reference to generation, legends and tales illustrating the cosmic process as among the Omaha (Fletcher), guarding, seclusion, taboos, exhortations, as contrasted with the girl's admission to complete freedom in many different areas of the world, and finally the method of direct observation. This appears among the Bontoc Igorot, where the young child is admitted to the Olag, or club house of the unmarried women, and observes the concourse of lovers from her early years. (Jenks.) Similarly, Nordenskiöld reports of some Rio Pilcomayo Indians that girls have nothing to learn of sex-life after puberty, though unchastity is extremely rare. So Powers remarks of the California Achomâwi, one of the most primitive tribes of North America:

"An Achomâwi mother seldom teaches her daughters any of the arts of barbaric housekeeping before their marriage. They learn them by imitation and experiment after they have grown old enough to perceive the necessity thereof. . . . As children are taught nothing, so they are never punished . . . it is a wonder that they grow up with any virtue whatever, for the conversation of their elders in their presence is often of the filthiest description. But the children of savages far less often make wreck of body and soul than do those of the civilized, because when the great mystery of maturity confronts them they know what it means and how to meet it." (64: 271.)

4. *Religious and Magical.*

Miss Fletcher has best described the attitude of the American Indian to the period of puberty, in its religious significance: "The maturity of the sexes is a period of serious and religious experiences which are preparatory by their character for the entrance of the youth or maiden into the religious and secular responsibilities of life, both individual and tribal. Among the tribes which hold especial public ceremonies announcing the maturity of a girl, these rites are held not far from the actual time of puberty, and indicate the close of childhood and entrance of the person into the social status of womanhood. The public festival has, however, been preceded by private religious rites." (*Smithsonian Report*, 1889-1890, p. 484.) Among the Omaha and their cognates, this conception was expressed by

the rite of *Nozhizho*, not obligatory for girls, but open to them. The term "*Nozhizho*" is "to stand sleeping," "meaning that during the rite the person stands as if oblivious of the outward world and conscious only of what transpires in his own mind. He enters into personal relation with the mysterious power that permeates and controls all nature." The mind is now said "to become white"; "in native symbolism night is the mother of day, so the mind of the newborn child is dark, like the night of its birth; gradually it begins to discern and remember things, as objects seen in the early dawn; finally it is able to remember and observe discriminatingly, then the mind is said to be 'white,' as with the clear light of day. . . . He is on the verge of his conscious individual life. He is 'old enough to know sorrow.' " Thus, the rite is performed in the spring. Clay is put on the head. Some of the Indians explain it as meaning "humility"; others say that it refers to "soft clay or mud brought up by the diving animals, out of which the earth was created." After long fast the adolescent gains a vision of animal or plant, which must be procured, and becomes a trophy or visible sign of the vision, "the union with the unseen." (25:128-133.) A very important element in the rite is the fact that the adolescent, in dreaming of the moon, may see a burden strap, or a bundle of arrows held out. Thus if a youth receives the burden strap, emblem of the woman's life, he must pursue her avocations, use her language and dress; while the same is the case with the maiden. Here, the fundamental nature of the life-rôle is determined at puberty, by means of the secret consciousness and inclination of the individual. A similar conception and practice is found among the Shuswap, Lillooet, and others; the change must be made, always at puberty, or at the end of training. (Teit.) Bearing of this custom on the problems of the modern adolescent, will be apparent when we turn to compare the primitive with the present-day treatment of delinquency in girls.

The above account has been given in detail because it illustrates concretely two significant points, first, that the simplest rite may have profound religious significance, often lost to a less highly trained observer than Miss Fletcher; second, the exact meaning of primitive ritual and symbolism may be differently explained by members of the same tribe, and hence we should draw up no adamant scheme of conclusions.

Religious and magical explanations of puberty-customs often turn on guarding the girl from evil. Thus the Lillooet and the Maidu (Dixon) use a deer-hoof rattle to "protect from evil influences and to keep off ghosts." (Teit.) Among the Ts'et-s'aut, a special hat and amulets are worn constantly, and the face is blackened, "to protect from evil." (Boas.) Beating, sometimes causing death, cicatrization, stinging with poison plants and insects are used, "to banish evil." (Caribs, some Uaupès, some African tribes.) The milder form is seen among the Mission Indians, who wave branches, "to keep off spirits." (Rust.) Seclusion serves the same purpose: "to guard against 'mystery'" (Tlingit), to guard against supernatural power (Salinan), to keep away evil spirits (Väi, Gola-Mendi, etc.). Other means of warding off demons, such as offerings, juggling, exorcism, torches, songs, lustration, anointing, etc., have already been mentioned among the Cochin tribes and castes. The Anyanya rename the girl, "to deceive evil spirits"; the Pima Indians consider the name during puberty as taboo, if spoken, the girl will have "bad luck." (Russell.) The numerous taboos often keep the girl from evil. Thus the sun and fire taboo among the Ahts is explained. (Sproat.) This conception reaches its most elaborate form among the Shasta Indians, where all taboos of food, sleep, sun, moon, fire, clear water are to "keep off evil spirits and dreams," further precautions being taken by sleeping with the head in a basket, the opening of which has been guarded with a magic stick, burned and renewed each morning. (Dixon.)

Other explanations deal with guarding the community from evil. Among the Shastas, if all expedients failed to keep dreams of public calamity from the girl, she was burnt as sacrifice. So, in New Caledonia, she is severely whipped, to drive illness from the chief. Among many peoples she is secluded, "to prevent loss of game supply" (Déné); "to protect the animals," or so that "the luck of the hunter will not disappear." (Tlingit, Malemut, etc., etc.)

Many customs are explained as consecratory or purifying in function. The Wintun of California gave the girl the sacred broth, or drink of "khlup" or buckeye, in order to consecrate them; it served also as a preparation for skilful dancing. (Powers.) We have considered the rite of circumcision from this point of view. Fire, tests, ordeals, isolation, and fasts are

used for purification among many peoples. Disappearance into the mountains (Thompson Indians), "smoking" the girl over sweet grass and burning coals, gifts, dieting and purging are means of purification among American tribes. (Cheyenne, Mission, Pawnee, etc.) Sexual intercourse, both before and after puberty is sometimes held necessary for purification. Instances among Asiatic peoples have already been given, in the section on primitive theories of menstruation. If this custom is omitted among the Nayars (Cochin), the girl is considered religiously impure, and is prohibited from entering temples. (Iver.)

Means taken to insure spiritual welfare for the girl are: prayers (Lillooet, Thompson, Shuswap, etc., and many African tribes), offerings, to obtain blessings, or guardian spirit, to become liberal, or to secure spiritual insight, and the ability to detect witchcraft, etc. (Mission, Omaha, Yokuts, etc.), drawings and paintings on rocks (Thompson, and other tribes of British Columbia, some of Mission tribes, etc.), preservation of the first blood (Australians), and divination by means of blood of the first menstruation (Kaniyans and others).

Other customs are explained as done in obedience to a divine command. Illustrations were seen in the treatment of tattooing. The Pelew Islanders believe that perforation of the nasal septum is necessary for winning eternal bliss. Tooth-knocking among the Dieyerie of Australia is due to the command of a good spirit, Muramura, who did so to the first human child, and was so pleased with the result that he commanded all others to do the same.

The religious conception of the sanctity of puberty is occasionally found, as has already been apparent. Among the Ceram Laut, "only a virgin arrived at puberty and a young boy are permitted to mix the holy oil used in ceremonial." So, with the Zuñi, the adolescent girl, though not necessarily virgin, is the central figure in the corn rites of the sacred Corn Maidens. (Stevenson.) The Athapascan drama-ceremony has also strongly religious features. (Goddard.) In the Tusayan Snake Ceremonies, a girl and a boy are chosen to represent the sacred characters. (Fewkes, *Sixteenth Ann. Report of Bur. of Amer. Ethnol.*, 1894-1896.) The Dravidians used formerly to sacrifice a young girl, and allow her blood to drip to the ploughed fields to insure the stability and fertility of the earth.

For additional references to the religious significance of puberty for both sexes, see also Brinton, *Religions of Primitive Peoples* (New York, 1898, pp. 197-200).

5. *Social.*

The following explanations emphasize the relation of the adolescent girl to society, although many of the reasons already given are also determined more or less by social factors.

Puberty, as a period of socialization, is recognized by entrance of the girl into various groups and secret societies. The *Olag* of the Bontoc Igorot, numerous girls' houses in Africa, traces of a kind of freemasonry among women of certain of the Melanesians (Seligmann) suggest this. More definite is the society formed by the Mpongwe, to which girls are admitted at puberty, "to protect them from harsh treatment by the men. Girls circumcised together, among some of the Bantu form a fraternity. Girls among the Navaho undergo the rite of flagellation as admission to a secret society. So, too, the Zuñi girls may enter various fraternal organizations. Among the Australian Central tribes, there exists now no elaborate social initiation for girls as with boys. Formerly, however, such rites are said by the Australians themselves to have existed for girls. (Spencer and Gillen.)

Social aspects of seclusion, taboos, mutilations, etc., have been neglected by most writers. Thus the Baganda mother sometimes produces deep scarification upon her daughters at puberty, "so they would not be chosen as wives of the king." (Roscoe.) Among some of the Australians, the little finger is mutilated and eaten off by ants, as a distinguishing mark of the tribe. Among the Australian Arunta and Ilfirra tribes failure on the part of the girl to perform the sand-winnowing ceremony, and to undergo the operation of noseboring would be regarded as a grave offense against her mother. (85:459.) A very human social reason for depilation is given by the Bontoc Igorot, "they pull out the pelvic hair in order that they will not be noticeable when they work or travel naked, they wish to appear like the children, they say." (Jenks.) So, with seclusion, flogging and hard usage of the girl among some of the Algonkian tribes; it is done that the girl may become a healer and bringer of good fortune to the community, and that she may insure safe childbirth to women. Thus the

Jicarilla ceremony is performed, "to bring good fortune to the whole community." The Seri *jacal*, in which the girl resides for a year in complete freedom, is for the purpose of establishing the probation of her future husband. (McGee.) So the gambling-stick practice of the girl among the Shuswap is intended to secure luck for the man who will marry her. (Teit.) Similarly with taboos, although a large portion are designed to keep the girl from evil, or to educate her, it is evident that many are conceived entirely from the social point of view. In the Torres Straits all have reference to the protection of the food supply. Can we not envisage this sort of taboo as a primitive system of taxation levied by society on the girl, at a period when her social instinct is beginning to expand?

It has been, of course, impossible to enumerate the entire list of 219 native explanations of puberty customs. In the material studied, their distribution in the above groups has been as follows: esthetic, 9; physical, 29; pedagogical, 29; religious, 70; social, 82.

VII. SEX-DISCRIMINATION

The ancient problem of sex-discrimination, involving natural sex-differences, economic and social conditions, religion, premarital status, etc., strikes at the root of the problem of adolescence. The degree of sex-discrimination is well indicated in puberty-ceremonies, since these are merely crystallized expressions of a fairly permanent attitude. Discrimination may be against the girl, as shown in the data collected by Webster and Schurtz. It may be in favor of the girl, as with the Maidu, Shasta and Seri tribes of North America.

A. *Absence of Discrimination*

The following peoples, however, seem to have no sex-discrimination in their puberty-ceremonies, or if it occurs it is of minimum degree:

AFRICA: A-Kamba; A-Kikuyu; Bamangwato (here the "girls flog boys of the same age to prove if they are men"); Bantu (some tribes); Basuto; Bawenda; Cross River Natives; ancient Egyptians (apparently none); Gola; Kafir; Masai; Mendi; Nandi; Shekani; Suk; Väi; Yaos.

ASIA: Ahoms; Alfurese; Andamanese; ancient Brahmans (among modern Brahmans restrictions required of girls are common also to students, ascetics, mourners, or the sick); Burmans; Cambodians (same customs for

boys, if they are to be educated; discrimination exists between different social classes of girls); Chamars; Kadars; Koreans; Lolos of Kientchang; Lushei-Kuki clans, of Tibeto-Burman stock; Nicobarese; pagan races of the Malay Peninsula (some tribes); ancient Semites (both youths and girls offered as sacred prostitutes); ancient Syrians (both sexes offered hair as puberty sacrifice); Forest and Rock Veddass.

INDONESIA, AUSTRALASIA, POLYNESIA: Australia (some of the Central tribes; Queensland tribes); Bontoc Igorot; Borneo (some tribes, including the Kayan); Ceram Laut: Land Dyaks (while the Sea Dyaks of same race and culture practise much discrimination); Easter Island; Koita; Massim; Melanesians (some tribes); Muralag; Papuans (some tribes); Saibai of Torres Straits; Sabanuns of Sindangan Bay; Tasmanians; Tutu of Torres Straits; Tubetube; Yam Island natives; Yule Island (some tribes).

NORTH AMERICA: Eskimo (some tribes); Athapascan or Déné (some tribes); Hopi; Lillooet of Salishan stock; Miwok; Navaho; Omaha and cognates (some tribes); Pawnee; Pima; Shuswap and Thompson, of Salishan stock; Yuchi; Zuffi.

SOUTH AMERICA: Arawak (some tribes); Ashuslays; Bolivia (some tribes); Chorotis (apparently); Coroados (according to Ploss); Quechuas; Goajiros; Karajá; Onas; Peru (some tribes); Uaupés (some tribes apparently); Yahgans.

B. Discriminations Common to Other Social Groups

In addition to this list, there are numerous peoples who give to each sex an equal degree of attention, but the mode of treatment is fundamentally different. Again, among some peoples the girl at puberty merely enters into a situation, analogous to that of other groups in the community, such as warriors, shamen, adolescent boys, hunters, sowers and reapers, mourners, pregnant women, husbands, fathers, etc., who are occasionally or permanently regarded as requiring special attention. In other words, this kind of discrimination is not based on what separates the sexes, but upon that which unites them, i. e., common disabilities arising from primitive conceptions of the taboo that attends a crisis. Van Gennep has sought to demonstrate a sequence of initiation ceremonies, or "rites de passage," for every important stage of life. Each stage, or crisis, is thus interdependent. Hence, according to Van Gennep, so-called "puberty-rites" cannot be understood, if the point of view of sequence is ignored. It is, however, equally true, and has been equally ignored, that customs relating to

the adolescent girl cannot be studied apart from their relation to other social groups and classes.

The following illustrations are typical of this relation. Warriors among the Déné Indians, for the first four campaigns, had to undergo the same taboos as the girl during her seclusion. Boys were required to use the scratch-stick and sinew-charms in the same manner. Boys among the Creek Indians during their twelve months of initiation also used the scratch-stick, and were prohibited from touching head or ears with the hands. (Bourke.) The Ojibwa (Algonkian) warriors, for the first three campaigns, could not touch the head with the hands. (Compare the numerous taboos relating to the head of the adolescent girl, with the widespread practice of preserving the whole, or part of the human head, particularly in the case of shamans. Dall, W. H., "On Masks, Labrets, and Certain Aboriginal Customs," *Third Ann. Report Bur. Ethnol.*, 1881, pp. 73-202; especially see p. 94.) The Pima warrior, after killing an enemy, must undergo strictest seclusion for sixteen days; he must fast four days, and for two days go without water. During this entire period his wife must not eat salt. He is not permitted to touch his head with his fingers, but must use the scratch-stick, the head being covered with plaster of mud. He must keep absolute silence, and bathe frequently in the river. For some time after his seclusion he must stand back till all others are served, when partaking of food and drink. (69:204-205; compare 7:475-476.) Similar customs for warriors and those who shed human blood are found in widely different areas. Among the Fijians, the son of a chief, after killing his first man, is rigorously secluded for three days; he is forbidden to sleep, to lie down, or to change his dress. His head is anointed with red tumeric and oil. (14:552.) Kafirs and Bechuanas practice ceremonies of purification after their fights. Bantu tribes shave their heads after killing anyone in battle. Among the Wagogo, of German East Africa, the father of a youth who has shed blood gives him a goat, "to cleanse his sword." Thus, as Westermarck also points out, a state of uncleanness is incurred by shedding human blood, but this does not necessarily involve moral guilt. Purification is necessary to free the individual and the community from the

danger of infection. Gradually, however, its cause becomes part of moral disapproval, and the state and act of purification are looked upon as a punishment. (96.I:233.) We have seen how exactly this state of affairs is approximated by the girl during her first menstruation.

So, too, the father or husband of the pubescent girl may incur a like disability. Among the Northern Maidu, the husband must live on the same food as the girl during menstruation, and he is debarred from hunting. (Dixon.) Certain Eskimo tribes restrict the youth betrothed to the girl from hunting during the period of her seclusion; this lasts one month, and meanwhile the youth undergoes a mitigated fast. There are also many other examples. Among the Thompson Indians, the father of a girl just arrived at puberty may not hunt nor trap for a month, and undergoes various restrictions. (Teit.) Similar taboos exist for the husband of the pregnant woman, as is seen to an extreme degree among the Melanesians and others who practice the "couvade." (Codrington, *The Melanesians*, Oxford, 1891, p. 228.)

Mourners are subject to special treatment in almost all parts of the world. (See 96.I: Chapt. xxxvii.) The Bogos of Africa prescribe a three-day fast for a son after the death of his father. Among the Brazilian Paressi the fast is for six days. The new born child with the Hare Indians is not allowed food until four days after birth, in order to "accustom it to fasting in the next world." While among the Tlingit and Songish Indians the child is made to vomit. (12:147-149.) Parents among Upper Thompson River Indians abstained from fresh meat for several months after the death of a child. (Teit.) The Tlingits, and some peoples in British Columbia, regard mourners as being in a delicate condition; their faces are blackened, and they cover the head with ragged mats. They must speak little, as it is believed they would otherwise become chatterboxes. These customs find constant analogies in the primitive attitude toward the adolescent girl.

It is impossible, in the limits of this thesis to give a comprehensive list of customs common to adolescents of both sexes, among the same people. It is easy, however, as is seen in the list of "Constituent Elements of Puberty Customs," to point out identities of treatment when the whole world is considered.

C. *Some Factors of Discrimination*

1. *Social Class.*

Social class is scarcely less influential in producing discrimination than sex, or race. This is seen among the Siamese, Cambodians, natives of the New Britain Group, among whom the very poor mark puberty, only by donning fringes across the shoulders, while those of the middle class are "caged" for a few months or years, and the rich undergo many restrictions and "caging," from the years of early childhood, up to maturity (16:285-294); some of the Cochin tribes and castes, where, in spite of the maximum degree of attention almost universally paid to puberty of girls, those who are very poor dispense with any ceremony (42.I:156-157), Ahoms, some of the Melanesians and many others. Distinction based on class would indicate that the puberty ceremony is not so much an initiation of the girl into sexual life, as into the social status of her people. We have noted the impinging of the ideas of the old upon the ceremonies and activities of adolescence.; this is seen nowhere more clearly than in discriminations based on religion and pre-marital status.

2. *Religion.*

The prominence of the religious element in puberty-ceremonies suggests that religion may be a causal factor in the degree and kind of discrimination in vogue. The problem arises, is there correlation between the religious ideas of a people and their treatment of the adolescent girl? In Abyssinia the cult of the Virgin, and that of a pagan goddess of chastity, show themselves in the rite of circumcision; in certain other parts of Africa where girls, at puberty, acquire special guardian divinities, we have seen that there is minimum sex-discrimination. The larger problem now emerges as to whether the presence or absence of female deities in tribal religion exerts an influence on the mode of treatment. So vast are the dimensions of this question, that we here can do no more than to state it. Many other factors enter, particularly those of economic-social environment. Facts seem to point to the conclusion, however, that the female-deity conception does influence the girl's status in puberty-ceremonial.

Among the Zuñis, the supreme life-giving power is bisexual,

referred to as He-She, *Awonawilóna*; this conception dominates the whole of their religion and observance. In addition to this fundamental recognition of the female element there are, in Zuñi belief, numerous woman-gods, the Moon Mother, Earth Mother, giver of vegetation, Corn Mother, and the ten Corn Maidens, upon whom even the gods of war in myth depend (p. 51), Salt Mother, and finally the Mother of Game. (86: 22, 23, 90.) Parallel to this religious emphasis of the feminine we find no discrimination between the sexes at puberty; girls as well as boys may be theurgists, and through voluntary initiation enter the *Kótikili* fraternity, who personify the gods. (p. 423.) The most sacred religious festival of the Zuñi is the drama of *hlá-hewe* (when corn is foot high) or the reappearance of the corn maidens to earth. (p. 180.) It is performed by girls ornamented with cloud, sun, crescent, and star symbols. (p. 194.)

Similar observance is found in the Pawnee *Hako* ceremony, where "all the people must unite their wills" to that of the woman in capacity of the Corn Mother, who leads them forth to a state of mystic union with the cosmos. Here, as previously noted, no discrimination exists between the sexes at the period of puberty (23).

Omaha tribes and cognates furnish another conspicuous example of this parallelism (25).

So, among the Central Eskimo, as reported by Boas, the girl Sedna is regarded as a secondary deity, creator of all things having life, animal and vegetable; she is protector and monopolist of the sea and the sea animals. She is the protecting divinity of the Innuits, and most of their religious rites have reference to her. (4:583-587.) Among them also the sun is a woman (p. 598), her brother being the moon; while three sisters make lightning, thunder and rain (p. 600). Here we find minimum or no discrimination during the adolescence of the sexes. Girls may become shamans or *angakoks*. (Rink, cited in 12:322.)

The most conspicuous example is that of the Yuchi, among whom men, in honor of the Sun-mother, actually place themselves in the condition ceremonially of menstruating women through the rite of scarification. Here absolutely no discrimination exists between the sexes at puberty.

In other parts of the world, similar conditions obtain. The

Subanuns of Sindangan Bay have no puberty observance; both boys and girls may become shamans with equal privilege, but the women are said to be particularly potent with female spiritual beings. The sexes grow up in absolute equality, both being trained in industrial occupations. (13:53-73.)

In India, we see, on one hand the widespread influence of the cult of the bloodthirsty goddess *Kali*, on the other, the over-stress of puberty in girls, premature intercourse, demonology, etc., among numerous native tribes and castes. (Cochin district, etc., 42.) So with the ancient Semites the custom of religious prostitution was correlated with the worship of a supreme goddess to whom a young god was subordinate. (Hogarth, in 22.I:143.) The Bush Negroes of British Guiana in adopting certain phases of Christianity have humanized the Trinity, by including Mary; thus they speak of "God, Jesu, and Mari." (Furlong, inform'n, 1913.) For numerous other types of female deities see Asozer's *The Living God*, pp. 126-278, and 79:234-236.

Whatever the causal relation between the presence of female divinities and the amount of sex-discrimination may be, it is impossible not to assume a great pedagogic influence exerted by these divinities upon the life of the adolescent girl. Christianity (Catholicism) recognizes in its female divinity only the virtue of chastity, yet the influence of the Virgin-Cult has been enormous. (See Hirn, *The Sacred Shrine*, London, Macmillan, 1912.) Among those primitive peoples where the female deities are great racial spirits, endowed with power as creators, inventors, patrons of industry and arts, workers in magic, both good and malign, can we not conceive a profound influence exerted upon the adolescent girl taught to reverence such supernatural beings of her own sex?

3. Pre-marital Status.

The pre-marital status of the girl is a strong determinant of sex-discrimination. On this point the greatest variation prevails.

Among certain peoples both sexes possess absolute liberty before marriage. (96.II:422-423.) In addition to the cases here cited and those mentioned previously, we find the following: The Andaman Islanders consider the girl entirely free; intercourse is a mode of courtship, marriage almost in-

variably following pregnancy. (51:67.) Among some of the Melanesians (Koita, Motu, etc.), unmarried boys and girls are allowed to act as they please in regard to their sexual relations. "The greatest decorum is, however, observed between the sexes. . . . In spite of the prevailing license, illegitimate children are very rare." (76:134.) The same statement is made of certain African peoples. In 1778 it was noted that girls in Tahiti were nearly the equals of the men in social position and intelligence, and that they possessed complete equality in love affairs. (Forster, J. R., *Observ. Made on a Voy. Round the World*, 1778, pp. 231, 409-422.) In Samoa the girl enjoys complete liberty. Here the girl may rise to a position of dignity and authority almost as great as the chief. She becomes *taupou*, or maid of the village; she must be a chief's daughter, and she exercises control over the women and girls. (44, I:64-65.)

With all these people, the sexes are on an equality, both as regards degree of ceremonial, and as to responsibility incurred by their relations.

Westermarek has compiled a list of peoples who look on unchastity with horror and punish it severely, sometimes with death. (96.II:424-426.) To this group belong the Veddas, Igorots of Luzon, certain Australian and African tribes. The author concludes, "among primitive peoples in majority of cases where chastity is required of unmarried girls the seducer also is considered guilty of a crime," usually, he adds, against the family of the girl, for the harm done to the girl herself does not occur to the savage mind. (96.II:437.) Havelock Ellis also assumes this to be the case. (21:147-148.) This is exactly the reverse among certain peoples, for example the Bontoe Igorot.

Here the custom is to bonus the unmarried mother, or at least to endow her with certain rights. No woman in the Bontoe pueblo fails to enter into the trial union of the Òlag, where the only instruction she receives is "the necessity for maternity." (43:67-68.) "A girl is almost invariably faithful to her temporary lover"; usually marriage follows pregnancy. If, however, the youth deserts the girl, his father must give her a rice sementera which enables her to support herself and gives her certain rights in the community. (43:67.) It has been pointed out that ancient Egypt was among the first

to express the dignity of motherhood; a woman's child was never illegitimate, not even the child of a slave. (Amélineau cited, 21:394.) The Wanyamwezi of Eastern Africa leave their property to their illegitimate children, even to the exclusion of the offspring of their wives, because those of unmarried mothers require more assistance. (Burton.) Among the Wanyoro, if a girl dies in childbirth, her seducer is also condemned to die. Among some of the Sea Dyaks (Sibuyans), it is held that an unmarried girl-mother is an offense to the gods, but instead of chastising the individual these punish the community with misfortune. Tribal authorities then collect a fine from the lovers to assist in making the necessary sacrifice. In this practice we see entire absence of sex-discrimination, and even recognition that the tribe is responsible for a young girl's delinquency, though she may aid in the removal of the penalty.

The pre-marital status of women in colonial New England may, in some respects be compared to that of certain primitive peoples. "*Bundling*," as a mode of courtship, occurring in the New England colonies (lasting till 1845 in some quarters, 40:182), and in New York and Pennsylvania, is analogous to the freedom accorded youth for intimate premarital acquaintance among peoples previously cited. (40:181-187.) On the other hand the attitude of New England Puritanism to women guilty of sexual immorality presents striking contrast to primitive conditions. Discrimination in treatment against the woman was present in severe form. (40:174-175.)

Many people, as the Zuñi and the Omaha, favor chastity, but are not harsh in treatment of the unmarried mother. With the Omaha, girls and youths were socially on a moral equality. A man was responsible for all his children, while blame was equally shared. "If a girl committed indiscretions and later led a moral life her acts were not held against her, or her husband or children, *though they were remembered*." She was permitted to win back by subsequent conduct her lost status. (25:324-325.) Thus the Zuñi dealt with the problem. The unmarried mother is kindly treated. Deep regret is expressed at her conduct, but all consideration is shown her and her child. None of the ceremonies at birth are omitted. (86:302.)

Quite otherwise was it among the ancient Hebrews and many others, ancient and modern. Sexual irregularity was forbidden to women, but not to men. (Leviticus, XIX:29; Deut.,

XXIII:18.) In Persia an unmarried girl who gave birth to a child would be killed. (96:II:428.) A priest's daughter among the Jews could profane him by her unchastity, and was doomed to be burned. (Leviticus, XXI:9.) Death is still the penalty with many African tribes. In the above instances, only the girl is held responsible (as with the Iroquois, for the different reason that woman's social position and therefore her control of the situation is deemed superior to the man's); and among these peoples the degree of pre-marital discrimination is closely correlated with discrimination of social status in general.

Schurtz maintains as a general law that, whenever the free union of adolescents is impeded, under conditions in which early marriage is also rendered difficult, prostitution must certainly arise. (74:190.) Havelock Ellis agrees to this and notes cases of the introduction of prostitution among primitive peoples, indirectly by missionaries, and others who disturb the customary relations of the sexes. As examples he cites the Bantu Bambola, and the natives of the South Sea island of Rotuma. (21:235.)

The tenor of the work of Jane Addams (*A New Conscience and An Ancient Evil*, New York, 1912), is clearly to establish the relation of economic pressure upon youth in causing late marriage, and prostitution. It is important to note, however, that the evil is ancient, but not primitive, in the sense of existing among the most uncultured. Even so scientific a writer as Jane Addams has not made this distinction. (See pp. 3-4, 218. See also p. 208, where Forel is quoted against the view of the primitive origin of prostitution.)

4. *Inversion.*

Closely allied to the question of pre-marital status is the problem of homosexuality. We have seen how this is met by Indians of British Columbia and the Omaha. Westermarck asserts "It probably occurs, at least sporadically among every race of mankind." (96:II:456.) We have little data as to relative frequency of distribution among the sexes with primitive peoples. Havelock Ellis sums up the chief data, noting that in certain tribes of Brazilian Indians women frequently adopt all the ways of men. (22:80 et seqq.) Dr. Holder, who has made special study of the *bote* among the American In-

dians, states that he has met no corresponding phenomenon in women. (*N. Y. Med. Journ.*, Dec. 7, 1889.) It is evident, however, among some of the American Indians of the Pacific Coast, the Omaha, and the Kamchadals of Northern Asia. All evidence goes to show, however, that the mode of treatment exhibits no sex-discrimination. This problem is of special importance in relation to modern delinquency and abnormality. Among primitive peoples, a useful and appropriate life-rôle is commonly furnished the inverted individual. It is quite possible that modern policy could profitably go to school to the primitive in this regard.

VIII. *Some Suggestions as to Modern Application*

When we seek to compare data of this study with that relating to modern conditions we find a dearth of analogous material. Modern literature on the adolescent girl falls into two classes, first, a great wealth of anthropometric and biological studies dealing with every aspect of growth, nutrition, sex-phenomena and disease; second, treatises, half psychological, half pedagogical, presenting generic phases of the problem, with much stress on the abnormal. While on the physical side, a large body of fact is fairly well established, and on the mental side a beginning has been made in experimental studies of adolescent imagery, volition, suggestion, *aussage*, and some of the higher mental processes, on the social side the meagreness of definite knowledge is very apparent. Havelock Ellis, commenting on the primitive treatment of the adolescent, regrets the loss of primitive puberty initiations, and would advocate their revision in modern form. (21:89-90.) However one may regard the wisdom of a course that would artificially reconstruct the spontaneous creations of other peoples and cultures, we must surely agree with Marro, that in modern life "we neglect the puberty of the mind" (52). A comprehensive study of the treatment and reaction of the adolescent girl in modern life is therefore much needed.

The aspects of adolescence which have recently received most attention are those which concern defectives and delinquents. Almost the entire energy of scientific study of delinquency of adolescent girls has been absorbed in the pathological problem. Dating from the work of the Lombrosan school the chief aim has been to detect correlation between anatomical and neuro-

logical abnormality and the commission of crime. Scant attention has been given to the girl in relation to her social environment. (An exception is the work of Jane Addams, *A New Conscience and an Ancient Evil*.) Recently Manouvrier, member of the International Congress of Criminal Anthropology, has set forth the case histories of seven delinquents, from the Paris courts. (52:297-315, 420-438.) He emphasizes his divergence from the standpoint of Lombroso, finding in the genetic view of the formation of criminals the prime influence of sociological, rather than physiological factors. (p. 423.)

He concludes:

"La moralité consiste en une certaine orientation, une certaine systématisation dans le sens de l'honnêteté. Elle n'est point héritée parce que les tendances héritées sont purement physiologiques et que les tendances physiologiques les plus normales poussent simplement à la satisfaction des besoins par les moyens quelconques à la portée de l'individu. Les tendances pousseront à des actes contraires aux lois sociales sans être biologiquement anormales, et un état social troublé, morbide, pourra résulter d'actes qui, pour être socialement nuisibles, n'en seront pas moins réguliers et normaux du côté biologique." (52: 425.)

Detailed study, however, of a number of life histories of delinquents remains to be undertaken.*

The point of view of the "new school" of anthropology regarding race has suggestive applicability to the individual. Thus Boas attributes racial retardation, not to innate inferior capacity, but to historical experience and vicissitudes encountered in the social environment. (5:9-10.) So with social and moral retardation in the delinquent, may we not assume this inferiority explained better by reference to social experience than to inherited anatomical stigma? We must not interpret the influence of environment in mechanical fashion. As Boas points out for the race, the essential thing is the reaction. The environment is influential in so far as it tends to develop special forms of customs and beliefs. "These are, however, based primarily on cultural conditions." (5:163.) Thus it would seem that researches of modern anthropology could furnish a

* NOTE: The practical methods of the Juvenile Court and Psychological Clinic tend in this direction, but intensive individual studies have not yet been forthcoming. Work of the Bedford laboratories promises much in this rich field.

new method to criminology as distinct from the Lombrosan method, as modern anthropology is from the older studies of "race psychology."

The essential thing in this anthropological method applied to study of delinquency, would be then, to collect complete life histories of the individual, in relation to social environment. This method was attempted by the writer in a fragmentary and preliminary study.

In co-operation with prison officials of Oregon, and the head of the Woman's Department of the Municipal police of the city of Portland, Oregon, a survey was begun in the three summer months of 1912. Twenty-five cases of delinquency among adolescent girls were personally investigated. In doubtful cases, the Binet-Simon tests for intelligence were used. As means of control, statistics were compiled of 300 court cases, extending over the years 1908-1911, of adolescent girl delinquents in charge of Mrs. L. G. Baldwin, head of the Woman's Police Department of Portland. In this the exceedingly careful records of the above department were of greatest service. In limited space of this thesis no adequate treatment can be made of the results, but the aim may be briefly illustrated. No correlation between physical defect and delinquency was apparent. Of cases personally investigated less than 2% were feeble-minded. It is important to note that in no case were these individuals under long sentence in a strictly penal institution; hence their reactions may be assumed to be more normal than would have been the case had their social tendencies been rendered artificial by prison repression.

The following cases have been selected for their relation to the treatment of the girl among primitive peoples.

Case I

Age: 30.

Present offense: Charge of vagrancy: Serving 60 days in the City Jail.

Criminal record: Arrested in Seattle, April, 1900, on vagrancy charge; petty larceny. Acquitted. Arrested 1909: Selling liquor to the Indians; for consorting with thieves; held as pickpocket: Two young girls reported to have killed themselves on account of her: Acquitted after serving minor jail sentence. Seattle, 1. 26, '09. Girl committed suicide, blame placed on H. A., Portland, 1. 8. '12. Arrested on white slave charge. Acquitted, but held as vagrant.

Case history: Obtained July, 1912: Verified by letters from girl's mother, evidence of jailors and police records.

Born: Indiana, 1882.

Nationality: Both parents born in America.

Parents: Mother married at age of 20: Age at birth of H. A. was 27; father's age 42. Both parents had common education. Occupation of father: laborer, later a small farmer. Both parents and grandparents free from disease or poverty. No criminal record for any other member of family. Age of first menses of mother: 13 years. Age of first menses of grandmother: 13 years. Labor of mother at birth of H. A. difficult. In physical appearance H. A. resembles father.

Childhood: Spent on farm. As baby acted in boyish manner. In early childhood excelled in games of skill and strength. Tractable, even disposition. Preferred out of door work, did plowing, general farm work. Had no sickness, nor children's diseases.

Brothers: 1.

Sisters: 1. Age of first menstruation, 13 years.

Education: Through grades of common school.

Age of first menstruation: 15 years. Mother noticed no change in her boyish disposition at this time. Health continued good. Shortly after puberty, H. A. married a man several years older. There was a child born, a boy now 13 years of age, in sound health. Boy lives with H. A.'s mother. Is now pubescent.

Soon after birth of this child, the father either died or deserted. H. A. was forced to contribute to child's support. She left home, endeavored to find work, but could earn only small sum as domestic servant, waitress, etc.

She then put on man's attire, and did a man's work in farms, lumber camps, freight depots, stables, dock yards, and cattle ranches, earning a man's full wage. When her sex was discovered, she was arrested, and forced to move on. In those cities where it is not a criminal offense to wear clothing of the opposite sex, she was watched by the police, continually arrested on petty charges, which in every case were dismissed. She served sentences as vagrant in these cases. In the Portland police court when sentenced to 60 days as vagrant, she said to the judge: "You call me vagrant; let me out for one hour in the yards or docks, and I'll get a job that will prove I am no vag." Though this privilege is accorded to men and boys so situated it was refused H. A. Hence her criminal record appears to be result of discrimination. She steadfastly refuses to wear woman's clothes, declaring that it is impossible for her to earn an honest and adequate living while dressed as a woman.

She possesses unusual musical ability, can play several musical instruments, and has a baritone voice of pleasing quality. She has been offered engagements with vaudeville companies. These she refuses because of her love of open air work. While she remains in the country, she is unmolested by the police, but when she comes to the cities, detectives soon find her out. Both matrons of jails where she

has served Portland sentences speak highly of her character. She is a favorite among the prisoners, but does not exhibit homo-sexual tendencies.

Charge that she ruins girls with whom she comes in contact, and is in fact a "white slaver," is not supported by evidence; several cases exist where H. A. has taken to her room at night girls unable to find work, girls evicted from their rooms by landlords, and girls found drunk in saloons, or soliciting on the streets in such an amateur manner as to assure her that they were new to prostitution. She has returned two girls to their homes from brothels. Of the truth of the charge that two girls committed suicide because of their infatuation with her, I have been able to discover nothing.

One girl committed suicide on the date given above; there is evidence that she was in an advanced stage of syphilis, was evicted from a sporting house in utter destitution, and was cared for by H. A.

At the time of latest arrest, H. A. was in company of a young woman who had left husband and two children in Seattle, and was living in a rooming house with H. A. It was impossible to discover their relations; the woman was seeking a divorce from her husband.

To sum up criminal record: Arrests since adolescence seem to have been due to attitude of society to her non-conformity to conventions, rather than to criminal tendencies. Associations with common criminals in city jails, prostitutes, petty thieves, drug users, alcoholics—have given her experience of lower class social conditions, and a certain insight into adolescent phases of delinquency, which may prove helpful to the investigator.

Personal traits: Tall (roughly 5 ft. 9 in.). Weight (in normal condition), 160 lbs. In jail about 130. Dark hair, fine quality, cut short, slightly thick. Dark eyes; regular features; clear olive skin. Looks younger than years, is usually thought to be about 23 or 24 years old. Wears masculine clothes with ease; muscles of hips and shoulders well developed. Breasts slightly under normal development, but rounded. No growth of hair on face—lip and chin normal in this respect. Hands and feet large, but well shaped. Nails of fingers delicate. General muscular development greater than average youth of 20.

Mental development: So far as hasty use of Binet test (revised) shows, is a normal adult. Attention good: Memory span normal: Comprehension normal or above. Has alert, forceful manner of speaking, gesturing, etc., but shows few secondary masculine characteristics. Has well developed aesthetic sense. Reads Browning as favorite poet; reads rather widely in fiction. Does not appear over developed emotionally; lacks the excitability of the usual homosexual type.

Remarks: The problem of the psychic sex-phenomena of H. A. is unsolved. Physically a preliminary examination fails to reveal marked abnormality. It is clear that she has been discriminated against socially, in her endeavor to escape economic pressure. She prefers society of women to men, but has friends of both sexes. It is clear that she has

sympathy and insight for the women of the underworld, and has done something for their welfare.

What significance should be attached to the fact that she arrived at the age of puberty two years later than the other members of her family, whose ages have been available, is undetermined. If life in the open favors the prolongation of infancy, we might discover some correlation here.

Compare treatment of this case with primitive treatment of the socially or physically inverted adolescent. (25:88; 58.)

Case II

Age: 20.

Present offense: Charge of murder in first degree: Convicted Sept., 1912, of manslaughter. No previous criminal record.

Details of crime: Girl, while living with a chauffeur in a cheap rooming house, lured to their room a young man, keeper of a cigar store and restaurant. The girl had planned to rob him of money which he freely had displayed. To this end she had purchased sleeping powders to put in his glass of beer. At midnight he came into her room at her invitation, but refused to drink. In the meantime X., the chauffeur, was concealed in the closet to watch the affair. The visitor became violent, and was in the act of throwing the girl to the floor, when X., seizing a bolt of iron, wrapped it in some clothes, rushed from the closet and struck the man a blow on the skull. He died instantly.

The girl then took the keys from his pocket and went into the street to rob the till. Only a handful of change was found. X. and the girl, after spending the night in the room, left the next morning and escaped from the city. Later they were apprehended in another city.

When arrested B. confessed the crime in all details, and assumed the entire blame. She attempted to shield X., and indeed rendered her own case hopeless from the outset.

While being held for trial in the county jail she gave the investigator the following data; later these data were proved correct by evidence in the trial, and by independent investigation.

Case history:

Nationality: Born in America: Parents both of German descent, one at least, born in Germany.

Family: B., youngest daughter in family of 8 children. All healthy. All girls matured before age of 14. Mother at age of 12. At birth of B. mother was 35; father was 42.(?) No criminal record for any other member of family. No other child either delinquent or dependent. Occupation of father: Unskilled laborer, later artisan. Family environment was good; no poverty. Associations of family were good; many members of German church and clubs.

Education: Parents: Common school. B: Common school: Three years of High School. School record extremely good.

Occupation: Cash girl in department store: Waiter: Sales-girl in department store: Chorus girl in Dance Hall.

Physical traits: Height: 5 ft. 3 in. (roughly). Weight: 120 lbs. Fair hair and skin. Eyes, light blue. Pretty, but with firm and resolute expression. Mouth, hard. Manner, direct and alert, without boldness.

General appearance as regards dress and bearing: simple, in good taste, unaffected, refined, immaculately neat: Nails, delicately manicured, and well formed. Hair, worn in simplest manner. No trace of use of rouge. Appear about 18 years of age.

General mental traits: Intelligence above average. Passed Binet test. Showed unusual comprehension of general topics, of abstractions, and of causes and consequences of her own condition. Showed traits of obstinacy and violent temper. Reserved, but believe this to be due to her abnormal situation and worry rather than usual characteristic.

Non-emotional, and free from any trace of hysteria, or nervous excitement; but fully aware of seriousness of her crime. Endeavored to commit suicide by jumping from the roof of the County Jail, when taken there for exercise; but this done from conviction of hers that sentence would be the death penalty, rather than from nervous or mental breakdown. B. apparently mentally and physically normal, or above average. Influence of menstrual period seems insignificant; at time of murder was in the 14th day of the monthly cycle. Has never been ill sexually.

In order to obtain her personal record it was necessary to explain that this investigation hoped to collect material useful in keeping such a young girl, as she herself had been five years before, from the track which she had taken. It was pointed out to her that she was in possession of facts about the world which no one else could possibly know, and that the only "square thing" to do for the other girl, was to disclose this information, before she passed out of the world. (In other cases, the personal appeal to individual advantage was sufficient to obtain all data, but B. responded only to this social stimulus.) In various interviews the following information was obtained.

B. had a healthy and normal childhood. Children's diseases: Scarlet fever, easy recovery; measles, not severe. Age of first menstruation, 12.

On the day she was 16, she was overpowered by her cousin, a boy two years older, a favorite, who lived in her father's house. This affair was due to no attachment of romantic nature on either side; nor was there any passion in the girl. Up to this time her sex-knowledge was confined to the most elementary facts of periodicity and birth. There was no conception.

B. disclosed the facts to no one, because of love borne her cousin by the family. She became moody, sullen, ill-tempered; as she expressed it, "I could think of nothing else, I dreamed of it, and was horribly afraid; it was impossible to go to school, or to meet new people." Her family in the meantime became hostile to her changed attitude; they began criticism and rebukes.

In this crisis B. met young people of a fast set. She craved excitement,

diversion, stimulants. She was induced to leave home, and having obtained work in a department store lived in a city room with girl friends.

She received \$4 a week; although the girls pooled their funds they were unable to pay their bills. There were offers of domestic service, but these were refused, "as none of the girls had come from a servant class." All of them went to the wall.

B. accepted offer of a man to accompany him to San Francisco. Later he fell in love with her and wished to marry her. She consented. Before marriage a young girl was discovered by B. to be pregnant as result of intimacy with the man she was about to marry.

"I let him go. I urged him to marry the other girl, for though I have no passion myself, I recognize it in others. He married her. I had little to lose—only my living—while she had a baby perhaps. Afterwards I regretted it, for I nearly starved in San Francisco. I could get nothing to do, even street work. Twice I worked in families; once they paid me no wages, and once they discharged me for being so poorly trained that I could not satisfy them. Then I went absolutely to the bad. I didn't go into a crib and I did not work the streets, but I worked in a dance hall on the Barbary Coast in San Francisco."

Minute evidence of the truth of these facts was obtained at the trial, and by letters, etc.

In this dance hall B. met with X., an ex-soldier and sporting man. He worked as chauffeur. B. fell in love with him; the only man who had reached her need. With him she came to Portland; at her request they delayed marriage until they could save enough to build a home. They came to Portland at the incident of the labor troubles of the winter of 1912. X. could find no work.

"I believe now that he could have found work; but I didn't think so then. He tried, but he didn't hunt for the right kind. He, too, had never had training in anything. I got work in a department store; a sales-girl at \$8.00 a week. Out of this sum I had to wear a fresh laundered shirt waist every morning. We had little to eat, and before we did for W., we had had nothing for several hours, and the landlord had given us notice to quit. He told us to get out and hustle. This W. was a cad who had hung around me for some time, trying to make a date, and showing off his money. I invited him up to the room. But he wouldn't drink; we had no idea he would be killed; when I screamed for help, X. rushed up and hit him."

"In reality the whole thing was my fault, because if I had opposed it it never would have happened; my will was always the stronger; X. always did what I said in the end."

These cases clearly illustrate the operation of social environment and the lack of adequate safeguard and outlet at the period of puberty. In both, the essential traits manifested are energy, activity, independence. This normal character of adolescence imperatively requires outlet and expression. (8: 181, 193.) It is sufficient to recall the treatment of adolescents

among primitive peoples to see how adequately under primitive conditions this provision is made.

IX. *Conclusions*

From the facts presented in this limited survey of an exceedingly widespread field, it becomes evident that no general theory of the origin and function of primitive modes of treatment of the adolescent girl can be maintained. An inclusive theory seems impossible because of extreme variation. Much of these data belong, as we have discovered, to such different aspects of thought and feeling that it cannot easily be compared. To group these facts together without context, would do violence to the conditions of primitive life. Recognition then, of the diversity of the problem, is the first needful conclusion.

As we have seen, this variation is of four kinds: (1) in ethnological distribution of attention to the onset of puberty in girls; here we encounter such extremes as exist between the Veddas and Australians within the same range of culture, or as among the native tribes of California, where peoples of identical cultural and somatic type, inhabiting the same region, show one group who do not observe puberty in any way, between two groups where the girls' puberty ceremonial is the supreme social event. Therefore we find no correlation between race and culture and attention to puberty. (2) Variation exists in the mode of treatment. This ranges from the merest objective mark to the most profound social and religious implication. (3) The time at which the "puberty" ceremonial is held varies greatly. Just as physical puberty varies in its time of onset, with climate, nutrition, race, heredity, occupation and social class, etc., so the social rite may occur at different periods, owing to wealth or poverty of the parents, convenience, social rank, weather, etc., or may be delayed until a sufficient number of girls have matured. Cases of physical precocity have their social analogues in ceremonies of rebirth that may take place at the age of three or four. (A-Kikuyu, Routledge, p. 151.) Retardation is also present, but more rarely. Puberty, however, may be merely an approximate sign that certain years of training must begin. We conclude that the term "puberty," as applied to a physical stage, can be extended only by convention, to the ceremonies that attend such

diverse events as social or religious maturity. (4) Great variation is displayed in the explanations of the function of "puberty"-ceremonies. Thoughts and interests of every social class are represented. Certainly we cannot ascribe this complexity of motives to any one principle, such as totemism, animism, sex-attraction, solidarity and the like.

In spite of this variation, when we seek to reduce the facts to their simplest general terms, three tendencies seem to immerge. These may be described as factors which emphasize periodicity, individuation, and "*symbiosis*."

A. *Periodicity.*

This is apparent in two ways, first in care taken to establish a cycle of alternate activity and rest. The cycle is marked in numerous ways, such as seclusion, change of food habits, freedom from work, release from social intercourse, and in various primitive hygienic devices. Here much is obscure and crude, and there are many exceptions; it cannot be doubted, however, that a tendency exists in primitive treatment of the adolescent girl to secure and stress normal periodicity. The second element in this tendency is psychological. Periodicity in adolescent mental development is indicated in many primitive rites. We need not assume this recognition as fully conscious and deliberate. It has been noted that the girl is treated now like a child, washed, fed, cradled, breathed upon, guarded, punished, now like an adult, admitted to responsibilities and privileges sometimes determining as with the Seri and Shasta, the destiny of others. This range of treatment may occur with the same people. Thus there is emphasized the alternating levels of adolescent mental growth, with all its disharmonies, periods of latency and intermediate stages. Modern studies have recognized this inequality of growth in both ethical and psychological aspects (53; compare also 35), but primitive peoples have apparently succeeded in giving the conception symbolic and concrete expression.

Closely related to the emphasis given normal physical and mental periodicity is primitive recognition of the abnormal. The psychoses of puberty receive much attention. Yet we must not fail to discriminate the meaning of the fact that no observance of puberty occurs as a unique rite, detached from all other ceremonial events in the life of the individual. Hence

when the abnormal aspects of puberty are evident, they appear as "rites de passage," in the sense of van Gennep. In this, primitive thought does not lag far behind the modern conception of the subordinate rôle of puberty as the *cause* of neurosis. For example, Janet notes that, "The neuroses appear almost always at the ages in which the organic and mental transformation is the most accentuated, at puberty, marriage, the death of intimate relatives or friends, the changes of career or of position."

B. *Individuation.*

The tendency of primitive observance of puberty to mark and set forth the individuality of the girl is very apparent. Isolation from the group, seclusion, living in separate dwelling, eating separate meals, etc., find at least one root of explanation in the arrival of the girl at independent personal status. More explicit is the freedom granted, sometimes in complete measure. Decorations, badges, mutilations serve also as individual devices to mark out the girl from common humanity and other groups and generations (29). So, too, disappearance from usual activities, setting forth into forest on mountains, leaving home, etc., are similar in function. This has been recognized for the boy by many writers, but overlooked in case of girls. The acquisition of a guardian spirit, the importance conceded to visions, moods and dreams, are other conspicuous examples of emphasis placed upon the personal life of this period. Ordeals, tests of personal skill and endurance, chance for demonstration of ability in diverse fields, all furnish to the girl among primitive peoples, outlet for the great access of energy and individuality so characteristic of adolescence (8).

C. *Symbiosis.**

By this term is meant that tendency which unites the individual with all elements of the environment as a whole.

This tendency is everywhere present in primitive treatment of the adolescent girl. In spite of extreme variation it is the one element to universally emerge. Assimilation of the girl

* Symbiosis is thus used by Dr. A. F. Chamberlain to illustrate processes of socialization in the group, and of affiliation of the human group with the animal and cosmic world. Clark University Lectures in Anthropology, 1912.

to the generic life of her people is brought about first by her entrance to the social life of her sex, next by her initiation into sexual life, in its physical, social and spiritual significance, and finally she is brought into relation with the forces of nature. Under one of these three forms of symbiosis the vast majority of primitive modes of treatment have their function.

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LITERATURE: BOOKS, ETC.

The psychology of religious sects; a comparison of types. By HENRY C. MCCOMAS. New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., c. 1912. Pp. 235.

The titles of chapters—types, religions and religions, sects, their making, classes and nature, types of human nature, action, experimental and intellectual, the individual and his sect, leveling forces, possibilities and impossibilities of church union—give little idea of the content or value of this book. The author insists very much upon the physical basis of differences in temperaments and therefore in religion, but he warns us that we must not lose sight thereby of the spirit of religion itself. Religion cannot be analyzed in terms of nerve action. The author believes that the Holy Spirit is an actual working reality in the world of man. Again, this book is not a close-woven argument that breaks if any one link in the chain is destroyed. Nor is it a text-book. God never made a sect, but every group of worshipers has been drawn together by influences that may be naturally explained. The author lays great stress on the action, emotional and intellectual types. In the first Catholics and colored lead, while the Unitarians are most intellectual. The work is certainly suggestive and interesting and it is to be hoped will open a field of work to which we shall have further contributions.

Youth and Sex. Dangers and Safeguards for Girls and Boys. By MARY SCHARLIEB, M. D., M. S., and F. ARTHUR SIBLY, M. A. LL.D. London: T. C. & E. C. Jack; New York: Dodge Publishing Co., 1913. Pp. vi, 92.

This is one of the series of "The People's Books," selling at 6d. net, and covering all sorts of topics, from "The Science of Light" to "The Oxford Movement," and from "The Care of the Teeth" to "The Teaching of Plato." The first part (pp. 7-43) of the present volume, which is No. 20, treats briefly of changes observable during puberty and adolescence in girls; our duties toward adolescent girls; care of the adolescent girl in sickness; mental and moral training; the final aim of education. The section on boys (pp. 44-92) considers prevalence of impurity among boys (the author's own experience, the opinions of Canon Lyttleton, Dr. Dukes and others); causes of the prevalence of impurity among boys; results of youthful impurity; sex-knowledge is compatible with perfect refinement and innocence; conditions under which purity teaching is best given, remedial and curative measures. As compared with some American books on the subject, "Youth and Sex" may be classed as conservative, particularly as concerns Dr. Sibly's views on the significance of night-emissions (p. 47), etc. He published last year a pamphlet, entitled *Private Knowledge for Boys*, "embodying just what, in my opinion, should be said to an intelligent child," and this "has, in my own hands, proved effective for many years past." For younger children, oral teaching must suffice. And,

for girls, wise telling, and reverent statement, of the truth about motherhood, etc., are better than "silly and untrue stories as to the origin of the kitten and the fledgeling." Religion here has a master-task to perform for the young.

A. F. C.

Comparative Religion, its Origin and Outlook.. A Lecture. By LOUIS HENRY JORDAN, B. D. Oxford: University Press, 1913. Pp. 16.

Mr. Jordan has already published two other pamphlets, treating respectively, of *Comparative Religion, its Method and Scope* and *Modernism in Italy, its Origin and Aims*, and the one under review discusses briefly the literature of the new science of "Comparative religion" in England in particular, with chief attention to the works of Carpenter and Jevons. The author is of opinion (p. 13) that "the dividing line between Anthropology and Comparative Religion must be drawn much more firmly and sharply than has been the custom hitherto." He also thinks that "these latest expositions of Comparative Religion have not proved as helpful as was generally anticipated." According to Mr. Jordan both the books of Dr. Carpenter and Professor Jevons "end before one arrives at a genuine exposition of their theme."

A. F. C.

The Cambridge Manuals of Science and Literature. Ancient Babylonia. By C. H. W. JOHNS, Litt. D. Cambridge: University Press; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1913. Pp. vii, 148.

This handy volume, with brief bibliography and an excellent index, sums up the history of ancient Babylonia, new interest in which was aroused a few years ago by the discovery of the now famous "Laws of Hammurabi," a king who flourished about 2100 B. C. The modernity of certain aspects and problems of city life in ancient Babylonia is very striking. The author considers that the pre-Semitic "Sumerians" spoke "an agglutinative language," and that the Kassites may have been a branch of the Hittites. Interesting are the local city gods of this region. The rôle played by irrigation was of the highest importance, and furnishes bases of comparison with certain other parts of the globe.

A. F. C.

Die Volkskundliche Literatur des Jahres 1911. Ein Wegweiser im Auftrage des Hessischen Vereinigung für Volkskunde und mit Unterstützung der dem Verband Deutscher Vereine für Volkskunde angehörenden Vereine herausgegeben von A. ABT. Leipzig u. Berlin: B. G. Teubner, 1913. Pp. vi, 134.

This résumé of the folk-lore bibliographical activities of the Hessian Folk-Lore Society, formerly represented by its valuable *Zeitschriftenschau*, the publication of which ceased some six years ago. The new form, which is to be heartily welcomed, appears under the editorship of A. Abt, and among the collaborators are Dr. Bächtold of Basel, Dr. Hellwig of Berlin, Dr. Helm of Giessen, Prof. von Sydow of Lund, Dr. Voss of Königsberg i. Pr., etc. There is a list of periodicals indexed (pp. 116-119); also indexes of authors, and of places and peoples. There are 2,259 entries, representing 224 journals, etc. The only American periodicals cited are the following: *American Journal of Philology*, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*,

Journal of the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology,—a few others being indirectly referred to through reviews, as two articles by Boas and Bingham, noticed in *Ymer*. This side of the Bibliography will, doubtless, be improved in future issues. As it is, in the list of places, "Nordamerika" has just one entry, and "Südamerika" but two. Of the 2,259 items, Nos. 1-81 relate to the bibliography, the history and the method of folk-lore; Nos. 82-238 to matters of a general nature, such as folk-lore in general, anthropology and ethnography, geography, archeology, history, culture-history, history of religion, philology; Nos. 239-410 to dwellings, furniture, etc.; Nos. 411-420 to food; Nos. 421-457 to clothing, ornament, etc.; Nos. 458-1027 to customs and usages, including periods of human life, festivals of years and days, social life, industry and economy; Nos. 1058-1358 to folk-beliefs of various sorts; Nos. 1359-1860 to folk-literature; Nos. 1860a-2259 to dialects, etc.

A. F. C.

Jesu Persönlichkeit. Eine Charakterstudie von Dr. KARL WEIDEL. Zweite stark vermehrte Auflage. Halle, a S.: Carl Marhold, 1913. Pp. 128.

This little book, which has reached a second edition, is intended to serve educated laymen, who desire to understand the personality of Jesus without getting lost in the maze of theological discussions. The author has, therefore, refrained from needless polemics against other opinions. He uses the *ipsissima verba* of Jesus himself to show that "we have in them no mere collection of the moral and religious verbal wisdom of the end of antiquity, from Jewish and Grecian sources, but something from which speaks a unitary spirit, a sharply defined personality." The contrasts of character in Jesus are all the more remarkable, considering the brevity of his life; an ordinary man would have been quite shipwrecked by them. Jesus does not belong with spirits like Schopenhauer, who believe they see the right way, but are too weak of will to follow it. Jesus possessed in eminent degree what Buddha so notoriously lacked, viz., power of will. In virtue of this he became the great, creative personality that has moved the whole world. The author has set forth his views in clear and pleasing fashion.

A. F. C.

Collection de Contes et de Chansons Populaires. Contes du Sénégal et du Niger recueillis par FR. DE ZELTNER. Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1913. Pp. iv, 252. Price, 5 fr.

This little book contains the French texts of 44 brief tales and a few proverbs (pp. 209-211), collected by the author in the Colony of the Upper Senegal-Niger and in the military territory of French West Africa, while on a government mission in 1904-1912,—of an archeological-anthropological nature. They were obtained in part from natives of various races and occupations, and in part from the *griots*, or professional story-tellers, from whom, on better acquaintance and further pressure, he obtained a complete version in lieu of the *editio expurgata* given him at first. In the case of the story of Sundiata, it took two months to obtain the real legend,—this (pp. 1-36) with its continuation (pp. 37-45) is the longest story in the book. Besides historical tales, there are animal-stories (in which figure

the crocodile, hare, hyena, lion, hippopotamus, elephant, serpent, partridge, cow, horse, goat, etc.), legends of giants, *djinns*, etc., a few tales of the first men, and some stories of ordinary human beings. The Wassulanké and Peulh legend of the first men (pp. 165-166) tells of the origin of fire,—the primitive blacksmith appears also in some other tales. The languages spoken by the informants of the author were the Kassonké and Sarakolé, but the native texts, unfortunately, were not obtained. They would have been particularly useful here, where the stories often show Arab and Berber influence,—indeed some have been borrowed altogether or in part from such sources. Nevertheless this very carefully recorded collection of West African folk-lore will be of great value for comparative purposes. It will also furnish some pleasant reading. A. F. C.

Répertoire de l'Art Quaternaire. Par SALOMON REINACH, Conservateur des Musées Nationaux, Membre de l'Institut. Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1913. Pp. xxxviii, 205. Price, 5 fr.

It was a happy idea that led the distinguished French archeologist and student of the history of religions to compose this book, dedicated to Émile Cartailhac, to whom prehistoric anthropology owes so much. After a historical introduction (pp. vii-xxxviii) treating of the art-finds of quaternary age in various parts of western Europe, follows an alphabetical list of places where such objects have been discovered (pp. 1-189), with bibliographical references and reproductions of the more important specimens. There is an index of subjects, places, and abbreviations (pp. 191-205), two columns to the page. One cannot welcome too heartily this handy and useful little volume, which enables one to tell at a glance the artistic situation in any of the caverns, etc., explored or investigated up to the date of publication. One finds recorded: Alphabetiform signs, anthropoids and human figures, antelopes, bisons, bovidae, canidae, capridae, cervidae, chamois, hunters, swans, elks, elephants, equidae, arrows, hands, birds, phalli, seals, branches of trees, foxes, reindeer, rhinoceroses, serpents, suidae, etc. Among the most interesting specimens of quaternary art, from the point of view of the study of the history of religion are the groups of dancers, etc., from Alpera (Spain), Cogul (Spain), etc. Some of the figures of women have been thought to have religious or mythological significance; so, perhaps, also some of the signs, etc. A. F. C.

Worship in the Sunday School. A Study in the Theory and Practice of Worship. By HUGH HARTSHORNE, B. D., Ph. D., Instructor in Religious Education in Union Theological Seminary, and Principal of the Union School of Religion. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1913. Pp. ix, 210. Price, \$1.50.

This is an attempt "to define the purpose of Sunday-school worship in terms of social relationships and attitudes," and to show that "with a well-defined purpose, and with due attention to the nature of feeling, the service of worship in the Sunday school can really be made both an efficient educational instrument and a means of training in the experience of worship itself, which is so necessary to the vitality of the religious life." The eight chapters, beside the Introduction, treat of the following topics:

The social function of worship, The neglect of worship in the Sunday school, The purpose of worship in the Sunday school, The nature of feeling and the place of feeling in education, The place of feeling in worship, An experiment in Sunday-school worship, Evidences of the results of worship, Guiding principles for the planning and conduct of Sunday-school worship. The "experiment in Sunday-school worship," of which an account is given in Chapter VII (pages 133-159), was made in the Union School of Religion, with the year divided into five periods, each devoted to one of attitudes described in Chapter IV, viz., gratitude, goodwill or love, reverence, faith, loyalty. The services embraced: Processional hymn, the Lord's Prayer, Doxology or Psalm, Sentence sung by the choir, the common prayer, hymn, story or talk or organ selection, Prayer by the leader, Recessional hymn. In Chapter VIII is given evidence of what these services accomplished for the pupils. While public worship and mysticism are "similar in the psychological processes involved," they differ in certain ways: "Public worship is social; mysticism tends to be individualistic;" again, "public worship attempts to bring the individual to the freedom of rational self-control and divine coöperation; mysticism seeks freedom through submission to external control and divine authority" (p. 203). This book is a useful contribution to the literature of constructive religious pedagogy. There is a bibliography (theory and practice of education, religious education and the Sunday school, psychology and philosophy of religion, feeling and emotion), occupying pages 204-210, but no index. A. F. C.

Sādhana. The Realisation of Life. By RABINDRANATH TAGORE, Author of "Gitanjali." New York: The Macmillan Co., 1913. Pp. xi, 164. Price, \$1.25.

The author of this book has become world-known since he received the Nobel prize for literature, when the authorities having its award in custody happily went outside the genius of Europe and America, recognizing, for the first time, human greatness in other parts of the globe. Tagore, however, is Aryan,—sometime the bounds of race, as well as of Indo-European culture will be passed, and the great yellow peoples recognized as rightful participants, through their men and women of genius, in the arts of peace and of learning, upon which the future of mankind is to rest. This book treats of the following topics: The relation of the individual to the universe, Soul consciousness, The problem of evil, The problem of self, Realization in love, Realization in action, The Realization of beauty, The realization of the infinite. The intention of the writer is not to treat the subject-matter philosophically or merely from the scholar's point of view, but to give western readers "an opportunity of coming into touch with the ancient spirit of India as revealed in our sacred texts and manifested in the life of to-day." And such purpose it well serves. As the author says, "all the great utterances of man have to be judged not by the letter but by the spirit,—the spirit which unfolds itself with the growth of life in history," and for him, "the verses of the Upanishads and the teachings of Buddha have ever been things of the spirit, and therefore endowed with boundless vital growth." A fundamental difference between ancient classical culture and that in India is pointed out: "The civilization of

ancient Greece was nurtured within city walls" (p. 3), while "in India it was in the forests that our civilization had its birth, and it took a distinct character from this origin and environment," for "it was surrounded by the vast life of nature, was fed and clothed by her, and had the closest and most constant intercourse with her varying aspects." The warring of man and his subjection of the hostile world from which everything has to be wrested is a cardinal mark of the pride of Western thought, a sentiment born of "the city-wall habit and training of mind." In India "all emphasis was put on the harmony that exists between the individual and the universal." Indeed, "the fundamental unity of creation was not simply a philosophical speculation for India; it was her life-object to realize this great harmony in feeling and in action." Tagore thinks (p. 11) that "the first invasion of India [by the Aryans] has its exact parallel in the invasion of America by the European settlers,"—they also "were confronted with primeval forests and a fierce struggle with aboriginal races." While not suggesting that things should, or even could, have been otherwise, for "civilization is a kind of mould that each nation is busy making for itself to shape its men and women according to its best ideal," he ventures this most interesting comparison:

"But this struggle between man and man, and man and nature, lasted till the very end; they never came to any terms. In India, the forests which were the habitation of barbarians became the sanctuary of sages, but in America these great living cathedrals of nature had no deeper significance to man. They brought wealth and power to him, and perhaps at times they ministered to his enjoyment of beauty, and inspired a solitary poet. They never acquired a sacred association in the hearts of men as the site of some great spiritual reconciliation where man's soul had its meeting-place with the soul of the world." It behooves every European Aryan to read this book, and hope for the day, hinted in the award of the Nobel prize to Tagore, when Occident and Orient shall come together again and out of the generically human create the master-thought for all the race.

A. F. C.

Systematische Theologie nach religionspsychologischer Methode. Erster Band. Die Religionspsychologische Methode in Religionswissenschaft und Theologie. Von. GEORG WOBBERMIN, Dr. phil. et theol., Professor an der Universität Breslau. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1913. Pp. xii, 475.

In this book, dedicated to the Theological Faculty of the University of Berlin, Prof. Wobbermin, who in 1907 published a translation into German of the late William James' *Varieties of Religious Experience*, discusses, with polemics necessarily bound up with the subject, the religio-psychological method in the science of religion and in theology, the monograph being the first volume of his *Systematic Theology according to the Religio-psychological Method*. The first half of the volume (pp. 1-242) treats of the postulates of the religio-psychological method (the position of theology in the general system of the sciences, problem and division of theology in general and of systematic theology in particular, the demand for methodic unity for the whole field of systematical theology). The second part deals

with the psychological method (the religio-psychological method as continuation of the Schleiermacher-James problem, the religio-psychological method as unitary method for systematic theology). For theology as the science of religion, Prof. Wobbermin claims "a justified, necessary and indispensable place in the general system of the sciences" (p. 32), where it ranks as "an independent culture-science." There is a good deal of polemics in this book, indeed, the author remarks (p. ix) that, "in scientific work, polemics is not only unavoidable, but it is a duty." Dilthey, Harnack, W. Herrmann, J. Kaftan, E. Troeltsch, H. Rickert, etc., come in for a good deal of criticism. In the course of his sketch of the history of the psychology of religion, the author touches upon "the Clark-University School of Psychology" (pp. 250, 400), noting the recent turn toward ethnological research apparent everywhere in the field of religious psychology to-day. In certain American studies Prof. Wobbermin notes a danger of "relapse into a psychological materialism" this being even more marked in Ames' *The Psychology of Religious Experience* than in Starbuck's earlier work, *The Psychology of Religion*. For the author, "the great German theologian, Schleiermacher, and the great American psychologist, James, agree in setting the same problem for the psychology of religion." In his book, *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, James "gave the study of this problem new life." This interesting book has a good index.

A. F. C.

The Making of Character. Some Educational Aspects of Ethics. By JOHN MACCUNN, M. A., LL.D., Balliol College, Oxford, Professor of Philosophy in University College, Liverpool. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1913. Pp. vii, 226. Price, \$1.25.

This is a new printing of a book published originally in 1900, and reprinted three times since then. The topics treated are: Congenital endowment, its nature and treatment (heredity, vital energy, temperament, capacities, instincts, desires, development and repression, habit and its limitations), educative influences (bodily health, Mr. Spencer's doctrine of natural reactions, Wordsworthian education of nature, family, school, friendship, livelihood, citizenship, the religious organization, social influences and unity of character, educational value of moral ideals, example, precept, casuistry), sound judgment (sound moral judgment, the education of the moral judgment, growth of the individual's ideal, practical value of a theory of the moral ideal), self-development and self-control. Prof. MacCunn's work, as reprinted, deserves the welcome it received, when it first appeared.

A. F. C.

French Prophets of Yesterday. A Study of Religious Thought under the Second Empire. By ALBERT LÉON GUÉRARD, Agrégé de l'Université, Assistant Professor of French in The Leland Stanford Junior University, California. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1913. Pp. 288.

This is the sort of book one likes to have come from America. Scholarly, interesting, and rather satisfying, as an attempt to throw some light upon the question, "Is France, the land of the Crusaders, the eldest daughter of the Church, irrevocably lost to Christianity." After an Introduction

(pp. 9-23), at the close of which the author offers his work as "a tribute of his love for France, the land of his birth, for England, where he grew to conscious manhood, and for America, the home of his choice," he discusses in succession: Catholicism (character and evolution of Catholicism from 1840 to 1870; estheticism in religion; the Satanic school; the gospel of authority: Barbey d'Aubreville and Veuillot; the liberal Catholics; philosophers: Mgr. Maret and Father Gratry; Ernest Hello, etc.); Protestantism (the struggle between orthodoxy and liberalism; Guizot; Scherer; Quinet); Voltairianism (decline and revival of Voltairianism; Spiritual nihilism: Mérimée); Romantic Humanitarianism (formation of romantic humanitarianism, before 1848; Michelet; Victor Hugo); The New Spirit, Background and Influences (characteristics; Saint-Simon, Comte, Littré; P.-J. Proudhon); The Poets of Science and Despair (Alfred de Vigny; Leconte de Lisle); Critics and Historians (Sainte-Beuve; Taine), Ernest Renan (influences, 1823-1848; Renan's life and works from 1848-1870; Renan's religious philosophy, 1848-1870). The Conclusion (pp. 256-281) is concerned with: A retrospect and a forecast, a return to Christianity: Protestantism and Catholicism, new churches and new religions, supernaturalism and naturalism. In summing up his sketch of Catholicism, Prof. Guérard observes (p. 69): "Rome would admit no alternative but theocracy and free thought: France did not choose theocracy." As to French Protestantism, "it is a survival," of which it may well be said "Requiescat in pace" (p. 100). Of Voltairianism we are told (p. 117): "Unchecked Voltairianism, starting innocently enough with the praise of common sense, leads nowhither but to the universal and incurable cynicism of Mérimée." Of Michelet, the author says (p. 141): "If ever France dares once more to believe in her own destiny, Michelet's books, which now irritate or sadden her like a sarcasm or a dirge, will be again a source of inspiration." The greatest French Romanticist, Victor Hugo, "was a Manichean" (p. 150). In the religious field, he "was great in three different ways,"—as the poet of conscience, as the poet of love (or rather, of pity), and as a passionate seeker after God, "in a nation which had not yet fully disowned King Voltaire, in an age when philosophy and religion had alike become materialistic, against the full tide of Positivism and Ultramontanism," and "with all his contradictions and his exaggerations, he succeeded in communicating to his readers something of his own intense yearning, something of his shuddering ecstasy before the inevitable" (p. 158). Saint-Simon was "a mystic Bohemian" (p. 167) and his doctrines "with a few men, a sincere and genuine, although insufficient, form of religion." From Comte, Taine, "a Positivist in everything but in name," learned less than from the Englishman John Stuart Mill (p. 171). Littré "was neither a great philosopher, nor a great writer" (p. 171). Proudhon was, in religion, "the most outspoken representative of antitheism, and many persons know nothing more about him than the two oft-quoted apothegms: 'Property is theft,' and 'God is Evil'" (p. 173). He really took pride in being a *theophobist*, "God's personal enemy." He was, nevertheless, "an original thinker, a blazer of trails; but this quality is too often paid for by

iconoclasm and love of paradox." He was neither a nihilist nor a pessimist, but "an independent Positivist, a self-taught Hegelian and Comtist" (p. 175), and "with the Romanticists and Utopian Socialists, he believed in progress and in humanity." Proudhon's *Justice* is, in reality, our *God* (p. 177). In Alfred de Vigny's spiritual make-up were "three elements,—pessimism, stoicism, intellectualism" (p. 190) and of his pessimism we are told that it was "inborn,—darkest, perhaps, when his life was happiest." Leconte de Lisle was "a greater artist than de Vigny" (p. 191), and "although he aspired to scientific impossibility, he was bound to fail in the attempt, as he was a genuine and a great poet" (p. 193). He was "a misanthropist, as well as an antitheist and a contemner of Nature," an illogical position, as the author notes (p. 198). Sainte-Beuve progressed "from Epicurean stoicism to scientific stoicism" (p. 212), something that "atoned for many weaknesses in his character," and "explained, almost justified, the words of reverent admiration," written by Amiel in his *Journal*, when the great critic died. Taine, Prof. Guérard thinks (p. 212), "is the best representative of French thought under the Second Empire." But, in William James' terminology, he was a "sick soul" (p. 221), suffering from *le mal du siècle*, a disease that "began with Rousseau's *Saint-Preux* and Goethe's *Werner*, and was not cured at the time of the Second Empire, only it was stoically concealed: 'Suffer and die without a word.' " Of Taine it may be said (p. 223): "Heterogeneous elements,—French rationalism, German metaphysics, English conservatism and prudence, romantic pessimism, were in him, not harmonized, but forcibly brought together." Concerning Renan, Prof. Guérard says, in concluding his account of that remarkable man (p. 255): "Democratic France, whom he criticized unsparingly, and, we believe, unjustly, understands him better than the cultured few he tried so hard to please. She instinctively reveres him as one of her spiritual masters." It is a curious fact that "the two most famous adepts of Renanism," viz., Jules Lemaitre and Anatole France, "took opposite sides in the Dreyfus case, but with equal energy." Also (p. 256): "The study of Renan brings our survey to a fitting close. A Catholic by birth, education and temperament, a Protestant in his conservative and reverent freedom of thought, a Rationalist after Descartes and Malebranche, a Positivist with Littré, Taine and Berthelot, a sceptic like Montaigne, a metaphysician of the Hegelian school, a Voltairian in his irony, a disciple of Chateaubriand in his esthetic emotionalism,—he was the living synthesis of his nation and of his time."

As to the future. French Protestantism "missed its opportunity in the sixteenth century" (p. 261), and now "it represents neither the past nor the future," and is unable to compete with either Catholicism or secular philosophy. According to Prof. Guérard "a Catholic reformation, a national conversion" are equally impossible. Since the last forty years "a quiet revolution has taken place." It is now clear that the Church is not all: "Catholicism has a future in France, as everywhere else in the world; but it will never be again the leading factor in the religious evolution of the country. The oldest daughter of the Church is now

emancipated" (p. 267). France may yet be saved by the new humanness of the age, by those things that "strike deeper than Clericalism, deeper than Catholicism, to the very roots of Christianity and of religion itself." France "is drifting—or growing—away from Rome," but she may yet find religion and hold it fast. It should be repeated,—this is a remarkably interesting book.

A. F. C.

Essays on Questions connected with the Old English Poem of Beowulf. By KNUT STJERNA, Ph. D., Sometime Reader in Archaeology to the University of Upsala. Translated and Edited by JOHN R. CLARK HALL, M. A., Ph. D., Author of "Beowulf and the Finnsburg Fragment, a Translation into Modern English Prose." Coventry (Published for the Viking Club), 1912. Pp. xxxv, 284. 11ld.

In the essays here translated, the late Dr. Knut Martin Stjerna (d. 1909) "collected all the material bearing on the poem of *Beowulf* which archeological research has yielded in the three Scandinavian countries up to the present time." Hence the book is very useful for English students and readers of the famous poem. The subjects treated are as follows: Helmets and swords in *Beowulf*, archeological notes on Beowulf, Vendel and the Vendel cross, Swedes and Geats during the migration period, Scyld's funeral obsequies, the dragon's hoard in *Beowulf*, the double burial in *Beowulf*, Beowulf's funeral obsequies. There is an Index of things (pp. 241-264), besides a general Index (pp. 273-284, 2 cols. to page); also lists of authorities (pp. 267-268), of passages in *Beowulf* referred to or cited (pp. 269-271), and a Bibliography of Dr. Stjernas' publications (23 titles), pages 265-266. This work, which forms Vol. III of the Viking Club's "Extra Series," has 128 illustrations and 2 maps. Of the poem of *Beowulf* in general Dr. Stjerna observes (p. 236): "In that poem, heathen conceptions and practices are either suppressed altogether, or supplanted by Christian matter, which sometimes presents a striking contrast to them."

A. F. C.

Buile Suibhne (The Frenzy of Suibhne), being the Adventures of Suibhne Geilt. A Middle Irish Romance. Edited, with Translation, Introduction, Notes, and Glossary, by J. G. O'KEEFE. London (Published for the Irish Texts Society): David Nutt, 1913. Pp. xxxviii, 198.

The *Buile Suibhne*, here edited and translated for the first time, is concerned with the adventures of Suibhne, surnamed Geilt, King of Dal Araidhe (North Antrim), after his flight from the battle of Magh Rath, "a stark madman." Most of his time is spent wandering about, sometimes in company with other madmen; part, however, at Glen Bolcain, a place sacred to the madmen of Ireland,—to Glen Bolcain, the tale informs us, the madmen of Ireland went, "when their year of madness was complete." The tale has considerable psychological interest. The battle of Magh Rath occurred in 637 A. D., but the date of the *Buile Suibhne* is much later, probably taking form, in so far as the association of the madness, etc., of Suibhne, perhaps, by the ninth century or before then. The *Buile Suibhne* forms, with two other tales, the *Banquet of Dun na nGedh*, and the *Battle of Magh Rath*, a story-cycle, whose origin dates

from about the same period. Interesting is the "levitation" figuring rather prominently in the development of the tale,—it takes the form of "Suibhne imagining himself as flying about from place to place, imagining, too, that feathers have grown on." In connection with this, the editor notes (p. xxxv) that, "until quite recent times it was the general belief in Ireland that madmen were as light as feathers, and could climb steepes and precipices." Mr. O'Keefe is also of opinion that "the account of Suibhne madness seems to bear some resemblance to the widely dispersed story of the Wild Man of the Woods, of which the Merlin legend is perhaps the most conspicuous offshoot." On the whole, the Suibhne story "seems to be made up of a small folk-element, probably deriving from the same source as the Merlin legends, and a historical element, with the battle of Magh Rath for a back-ground." In the *Speculum regale*, an old Norse book, written about 1250 A. D., is an interesting reference to the *geilt* or madmen of Ireland, which suggests a knowledge of the tale of Suibhne. The tale of Suibhne is written in alternate prose and verse, but there is much more of the latter than of the former. A. F. C.

Les Hain-Teny merinas. Poésies populaires malgaches, recueillies et traduites par JEAN PAULHAN. Paris: P. Geuthner, 1913. Pp. 461.

The *hain-teny*, "science of words," known also as *ohatra*, "examples," and *ohabalana*, "example-words," are folk-poetry of the Merinas, as the Malagasy peoples (Hova, Andevo, Andriana, etc.) of Madagascar call themselves. Other names for them are *ankamanatatia*, "riddles," *fampanononana*, "enigmatic questions demanding an answer." According to the author, *hain-teny* is the best and least confusing term. Few, if any, *hain-teny* have been published, except, of course, in Malagasy text. The author spent two years, more or less, among the Merinas, making many visits with families, etc., and collected, during that time, "about 800 *hain-teny*, of which 160 are given in this volume,"—Malagasy original with French translation, explanatory notes, etc. On pages 73-401 are given 153 *hain-teny*, classified according to the themes of which they treat: Declaration of love, consent, refusal, hesitation and rivals, separation and abandonment, regrets and reproaches, pride, *raillerie*. The *hain-teny* may be regarded as anonymous, but in an Appendix (pp. 405-431) the author gives the texts of 12 variants of No. xvi of the abandonment theme, obtained from 11 individuals of various places and ages. A second Appendix (pp. 435-449) contains the texts of three *hain-teny* comprising respectively 88, 109, and 112 lines,—such lengthy ones are very rare. The *hain-teny* are a sort of "poetic competition," in which often a man begins and a woman replies, or vice-versa. Ordinarily the *hain-teny* are playful, rather than really contentious or quarrelsome, the recitation only artificially presenting the outward appearance of dispute. In the words of the author (p. 11): "At Ambatomena, a village of 20 or 30 houses, near Tsinjoarivo, a Merina, 50 years old, named Rakotobe, playfully discusses every evening with his sisters (Razay and Rasoia) in *hain-teny*, and children of the village come to listen. Before beginning Rakotobe tells briefly those present the motives of the dispute he has just imagined: one of his slaves has run

away, and his sister Razay has consented to speak for the guilty man. Another evening, it is a rival, who has met Rakotobe in some amorous enterprise, or a sorcerer, who has sought to bewitch the rice. We have here only the imagination of a quarrel."

Little attention has hitherto been paid by Europeans, who have written about the Malagasy, to the recitation of *hain-teny*. Moreover, the Christian Merinas have come to consider as "inspirations of the Devil," all *hain-teny* based on other than moral principles. As the somewhat rapid evolution of the Malagasy tongue during the last 50 years has gone on quite outside the folk-poetry and against it, the result has been that "to the educated euna, who has studied in the European schools, even if he is not a Christian, the language of the *hain-teny* is obscure and seems like a dead language." The *hain-teny* to-day are recited only in Emyrna regions, where the European influences have not yet penetrated. In the villages where the Hova and Andriana population is Christian, only the Andevo remember them. On pages 15-41 is given a specimen (series of 7) *hain-teny* discussion, recorded at Tananarivo,—the matter treated is an imagined love-quarrel. Following is the beginning of the series of *hain-teny* on the theme of the declaration of love:

"You are the fruit desired,
The precious banana.
Even if the butterfly touches you,
They will not leave you.
He who dies for the one he loves
Is a little crocodile swallowed by its mother:
He is eaten by the belly that sheltered him."

By the butterfly is meant a certain black butterfly, the appearance of which is an omen of death. In the series concerned with *raillerie*, the following brief item occurs:

"Love that does not measure up to the heart,
Water that does not fill the jug,
—Half is lost on the road."

Mr. Paulhan has furnished a very interesting collection of folk-poetry, from a part of the world, where the Malayo-Polynesian race still exists in large numbers. There is room for a good psychological study of the effects of European intrusion upon the folk-mind of this extra-African people.

A. F. C.

Body and Mind. A History and a Defense of Animism. By WILLIAM McDOUGALL, M. B., formerly Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, Reader in Mental Philosophy in the University of Oxford. With thirteen Diagrams. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1911. Pp. xix, 384. Price, \$2.75 net.

The topics treated in the twenty-five chapters of this book, outside of the Conclusion, are as follows: Animism in the ancient world; animism in the Middle Ages; animism at the time of the renaissance of learning; animism in the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries; modern developments of

physical science adverse to animism; the use of the mechanistic physiology and of the "psychology without a soul"; the influence of the Darwinian theory; current philosophical arguments against animism; the automaton theories; examination of the automaton-theories and of the special arguments in their favor; Is there any way of escape from the dilemma,—animism or parallelism? argumenta ad hominem; examination of the arguments against animism from epistemology, "inconceivability," and the law of conservation of energy; examination of the arguments against animism drawn from physiology and general biology; the inadequacy of mechanical conceptions in physiology; inadequacy of mechanical principles to explain organic evolution; inadequacy of mechanical conceptions to explain animal and human behavior; the argument to psychophysical interaction from the "distribution of consciousness"; the unity of consciousness; the psycho-physics of "meaning." pleasure, pain, and conation; memory; the bearing of the results of "psychical research" on the psycho-physical problem. The "animism," defended by Professor McDougall, is not the "primitive animism," or "primitive anthropomorphism" of savage and barbarous peoples, although "the Animism of civilized men, which has been and is the foundation of every religious system, except the more rigid Pantheisms, is historically continuous with the primitive doctrine." The author holds by the view (p. viii): "The essential notion, which forms the common foundation of all varieties of Animism, is that all, or some, of those manifestations of life and mind which distinguish the living man from the corpse and from inorganic bodies are due to the operation within him of something, which is of a nature different from that of the body, an animating principle generally, but not necessarily or always, conceived as an immaterial and individual being or soul." Prof. McDougall is aware that "to many minds it must appear nothing short of a scandal that anyone occupying a position in an academy of learning, other than a Roman Catholic Seminary, should, in this twentieth century, defend the old-world notion of the soul of man." With the fate of animism, he believes, "the future of religion is intimately bound up." Indeed, he goes so far as to say (p. xiii) that "if science should continue to maintain the mechanistic dogma, and, consequently, to repudiate Animism, the belief in any form of life after the death of the body will continue rapidly to decline among all civilized peoples, and will, before many generations have passed away, become a negligible quantity." And he, himself, is no religious dogmatist or selfish partisan of a theory of immortality. Calamitous for our civilization, he thinks, would be the disappearance of the belief that "human personality is not wholly destroyed by death," for "every vigorous nation seems to have possessed this belief, and the loss of it has accompanied the decay of national vigor in many instances." Also, "apart from any hope of rewards, or fear of punishment after death, the belief must have, it seems to me, a moralizing influence upon our thought and conduct that we can ill afford to dispense with." An epitome of most of what can be ranged in support of such views will be found in this book.

A. F. C.

PERIODICAL LITERATURE

By ALEXANDER F. CHAMBERLAIN.

1. *Bacteria as crime-material.* In detective-stories of the present hour murder by means of infection through bacteria, etc., plays a considerable rôle, reflecting, apparently, actual occurrences in the criminal world. In a recent article, "Die Kriminelle Bedeutung der Krankheitserregenden Bakterien," in the *Archiv f. Kriminalanthropologie und Kriminalistik* (1913, vol. 53), A. Abels discusses this topic, which has assumed considerable importance in criminology. To-day murder by the introduction into the system of the victim of germs of typhoid, cholera, etc., is one of the evidences that crime in a way keeps pace with the discoveries of science. Abels, however, points out that since the 14th century there have been many cases of intentional transferences of diseases,—a whole chapter of history here relates to the "plague." The deliberate infection of primitive peoples by white men, with small-pox, etc., is another thing that antedates the individual bacterial-crime of the 20th century. The folk-lore of these diseases has also many interesting facts and fancies of record and of explanation.
2. *Belief that women have power to leave their bodies by night.* This is among the superstitions noted by O. Ebermann, in the course of his article "Zur Aberglaubenliste in Vintlers Pluemen der Tugent," in the *Ztschr. d. Ver. f. Volkskunde* (1913, vol. 23, pp. 1-18, 115-136. See p. 118). The *Pluemen der Tugent* is based upon an Italian Ms. (15th cent.) *Fiori di virtù*. This ancient superstition, according to Ebermann, is not yet quite extinct in Germany. The Masures, *e. g.*, believe that women do not do such a thing out of their own wickedness, but through misfortune and the guilt of others. It is caused when the godparents during baptism think of night-mares, etc.; or when they say the "Ja" indistinctly, so that it sounds like "Ma." To get rid of the misfortune one must be baptized again. This idea that women can leave their bodies by night, and visit other houses to disturb sleeping persons, as spirits, night-mares, etc., seems to be rather widespread.
3. "*Catholic renaissance*" in France, etc. In his article "Renaissance catholique," in the *Mercure de France* (1913, vol. 105, pp. 484-506), R. d'Humières discusses the question of a "Catholic renaissance in France, from the point of view of one who holds that the great forces of the past now decadent can never be galvanized into lasting life. Among the Catholics of France the author distinguishes in general

three classes,—the old believers (a survival to be pitied), orthodox atheists, fervent heretics. None of these is really capable of renewing the church. H. sees in art, perhaps, a cult of the future. For an understanding of Catholicism in France, one should read the book of Prof. Guérard reviewed elsewhere in this number of the JOURNAL.

4. *Christian elements in the Mahābhārata.* In his article in the *Archiv f. Religionswissenschaft* (1913, vol. 16, pp. 516-546), R. Garbe discusses "Christliches und angeblich Christliches im Mahābhārata, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Entstehung des Krischnaismus,"—treating the question of "Christian elements" in the *Mahābhārata*, with special reference to the origin of Krishnaism. It is now known that the Hindu epic, *Mahābhārata*, gradually grew up in the main all the way from the 4th century B. C. to the 4th century A. D. But it also contains items belonging previous to that period and some that are of later origin or insertion. As we have it now its form was fixed in the 6th or 7th century, and this fact makes possible the existence of Christian influences. There is, however, but a single section concerning which it may be reasonably maintained that it indicates an acquaintance with Christian life and Christian religion. This is the legend of the Svetadvīpa, the "White Island," or "Island (i. e., land) of the Whites" (*Mbh.* XII, Cap. 337, 338, Ed. Calc.). This is among the last insertions in the great epic and belongs, according to Garbe, to the 6th century A. D. This legend is full of fancies, "behind which, however, seems to lie a real knowledge of some Christian country. The "sea of milk" of the Hindu epic, in the section relating to Svetadvīpa, is probably, Dr. Garbe thinks, Lake Balkash,—its Kirghiz name to-day is *Ak-Dengiz*, or "white sea." In the region south of L. Balkash large communities of Nestorian Christians still existed in the 13th and 14th centuries, and they must have been well represented there at a much earlier date. It may therefore be that it was the Nestorian settlements of the 6th century in the region of L. Balkash that furnished the basis for the Svetadvīpa legend in the *Mahābhārata*. The presence of numerous Brahmans in Bactria in the beginning of the 3d century A. D., makes the transmission of the knowledge in question a matter of little difficulty. Certain other alleged "Christian elements" argued for by Hopkins and others, are, according to Dr. Garbe, not of such origin,—some of these relate in particular to the Krishna legend. The Krishna-child, e. g., "does not appear suddenly in India ca. 500 A. D., but was known there at least 700 years before, and that too in his peculiar relation to shepherd-life; his worship is therefore of genuine Indian origin" (p. 543). Traits of Krishna that already appear in the *Bhagavadgītā* cannot be explained from Christian sources. Dr. Garbe concludes by reasserting his opinion that "the fanciful account of the Svetadvīpa, in the 12th book of the *Mahābhārata* is the only part of the epic in which may be found some dim knowledge of Christianity." See also an article by Dr. Garbe in the *Deutsche Rundschau* for August, 1913.

5. *Criminal characteristics.* Before the Anthropological Society of Washington, on October 15, 1912, Major R. Sylvester, Superintendent of Police for the District of Columbia, read a paper on "Criminal Characteristics," of which a brief abstract is given in the *American Anthropologist* (1913, N. S., vol. 15, pp. 347-348). Among other things the erroneous nature of the popular impression of the criminal as "a hungry, shifty individual," was pointed out, the truth being that "the average man who makes crime a business in large cities is a fairly prosperous individual with no fear of arrest. Politics has an evil influence in preventing the police of some large cities from bringing criminals to justice. It would appear that "some special kinds of crime call for physical peculiarities and develop them, with these exceptions, the criminal does not usually have a different aspect from that of other people, though both criminal and non-criminal persons of the police classification differ among themselves." Maj. Sylvester emphasized "conditions, as largely determining the category to which a man would belong." He thought that "measurements in general would give racial characteristics rather than criminal." We are learning also that "many cases of apparent criminality are only cases of mental defect or disease." In the discussion on this paper, Dr. Hrdlicka and Dr. Frank Baker "chiefly emphasized the unreliability of external peculiarities relied on by Lombroso, and of every sort of test which has been devised for general distinctions." According to Dr. Hrdlicka "crime is a matter of the nerves and brain or the mentality, and criminal characteristics may be due more to organs and parts which are hidden than to the obvious and chiefly irrelevant ones which Lombroso depended on for his diagnosis." Dr. Glueck laid stress on the need for "learning all about a man's past and conditions and his behavior at every stage of his life rather than trusting to his behavior or condition at the time of any one act as a proof of criminality."